CDC

NATIONAL REVIEW

35 Cents
March 12, 1963

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Psychiatry's Threat to Civil Liberties

THOMAS S. SZASZ

Britain's Spy Scandal

COLM BROGAN

The Case for the South

L. BRENT BOZELL

Articles and Reviews by . . . FRANK S. MEYER
HENRY HAZLITT · RALPH DE TOLEDANO · HELEN WOODWARD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

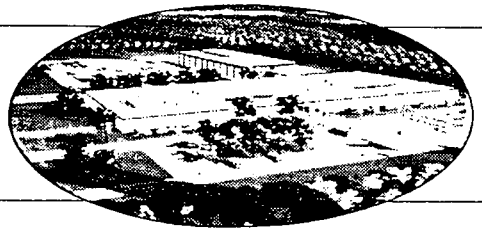
TEXTILE RESEARCH PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN OUR FUTURE ECONOMY

the SCOOP about the LOOP

...it's **HUDSON'S AGILON**® hosiery in a new Lockloop construction. You can burn it up, cut it up, and tear it up... but,...YOU CAN'T MAKE IT RUN !!!!!! HUDSON Lockloop provides sheer loveliness you can wear everyday and never worry about "runs". And AGILON® features the finest smooth fit disputable by none.

Hudson AGILON® Lockloop 88

DEERING MILLIKEN, INC. • 1045 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 18, N.Y.



Deering Milliken Research Corp., Spartanburg, S. C.

America's largest, most modern research facilities devoted exclusively to textile research.

®"AGILON" is a registered trademark of Deering Milliken Research Corp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS

L. Brent Bozell, James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, Frank S. Meyer, William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION: Martha Butler, Arlene Croce
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES

Frank Chodorov, D. G. M. Coxe, Morrie Ryskind, Timothy J. Wheeler

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain, John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Guy Davenport, A. Derso, Joan Didion, M. Stanton Evans, Finis Farr, David Franke, J. D. Futch, Henry Hazlitt, Aloise B. Heath, Will Herberg, Hugh Kenner, James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner, Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews, Vincent Miller, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer, Kenneth Shorey, Ralph de Toledano, W. H. von Dreele, Richard M. Weaver, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

ART DIRECTOR: James W. O'Bryan
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Robert J. White
PROMOTION MANAGER: Patrick J. Gorman
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney

CONTENTS *MARCH 12, 1963 VOL. XIV, NO. 10*

THE WEEK 181

ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS

Quiet. Conspiracy at Work ....*Wm. F. Buckley Jr.* 188
From Washington Straight .....*Cato* 189
Who Will Defend Europe? .....*James Burnham* 190
Psychiatry's Threat to Civil Liberties *Thomas S. Szasz* 191
What's in Store for Iraq .....*Susan Huck* 193
Britain's Scandalous Spy Case .....*Colm Brogan* 195
World Government: Last Refuge of Liberalism *Frank S. Meyer* 197
The Wealthy American Bum .....*Russell Kirk* 198
To the Editor 207

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS

To Mend the Tragic Flaw .....*L. Brent Bozell* 199
Capitalism Without Horns .....*Henry Hazlitt* 200
Tour of the *Times Book Review* ....*Brett Daniels* 202
President Wilson's First Lady ....*Helen Woodward* 203
The Sad Story of Mildred Bailey *Ralph de Toledano* 204
Books in Brief 206

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc. at 163 Pratt St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.). Copyright 1963 in the U.S.A., by National Review, Inc. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $16.00 a year ($9.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ Dr. **Thomas S. Szasz** writes from the inside on a topic that has proved, in recent years, too controversial for outsiders to discuss calmly enough to separate sense from nonsense: the relation of psychiatry to due process and the rights of citizens. Dr. Szasz is himself a Professor of Psychiatry (as well as a believer in due process) at the Upstate (Syracuse) Center of the State University of New York. His most recent book, *The Myth of Mental Illness*, was published by Harper & Bros. in 1961. . . . A few months ago **Susan Huck** was the official U.S. delegate to the celebration of the Fourth Anniversary of the Iraqi Revolution—which meant at that moment the revolution in which Abdul Karim el-Kassem had slaughtered King Feisal and pro-Western Prime Minister Nuri as-Said. Now the slaughter is on the other foot, one might say, in that ancient land where bullets continue to be preferred to ballots as the mechanism for changing governors. Miss Huck is by trade a geographer, now teaching at Hunter College, New York, after having taught, written, charted and traveled, as a geographer should, all over the map.

➔ From London **Colm Brogan** writes judiciously about the scandal and the Inquiry over and into the case of John Vassall, the junior Admiralty clerk who turned out to be a homosexual Soviet spy. Hearings of the Radcliffe Tribunal, Mr. Brogan believes, seem to be returning the blackest indictment against the popular press that tried to exploit the scandal as a sensational circulation-builder. . . . Pressing home his logical assault on contemporary Liberalism, **Frank Meyer** drives the Liberals into their last redoubt, World Government, and there does battle. . . . And **James Burnham** continues his weighing of the shifts in the power equilibrium that have produced the current crisis in the Western alliance.

➔ The book section begins with a critical article, more than a review, on James Jackson Kilpatrick's defense of the South's case on school segregation, by *NR*'s editor, **Brent Bozell,** now lecturing for several weeks in this country before returning to his temporary home and workshop in Spain. . . . **Henry Hazlitt** commends the new book in which John Chamberlain presents a balanced, lively history of business enterprise in this country in further correction of the propagandist muckraking that once came in such a flood from our anti-capitalist zealots. . . . Though it seems mean to hit a New York paper while it is down, this seemed a good reflective time for **Brett Daniels,** a free-lance writer who watches words, to consider the claim of the *Times Book Review* to what it claims. . . . *NR*'s good and charter friend, **Helen Woodward,** whose most recent of many books, *The Lady Persuaders,* was reviewed here by the Managing Editor, gives due tribute to a lovely lady and her husband. . . . And **Ralph de Toledano** remembers again the sad story of another lady, unique and unforgettable. ➔

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEFORMATION & DOWNTIME

Kennametal* is 3X as rigid as steel

Deformation can be a potent cause of downtime when pressure squeezes parts out of shape or quickly dulls gripping and cutting edges. Output on high priced machines can be doubled or tripled by taking advantage of the extremely high rigidity of Kennametal hard tungsten carbides. Here are examples of how the resistance of Kennametal to deformation has paid off in lowering maintenance costs and in increasing production:

1. GRIPPER PADS AND FEED ROLLS—The high impact resistance, edge strength, and resistance to abrasion of Kennametal gripping components not only cut maintenance costs and downtime but often reduce scrappage. After tests showed that gripper pads and feed rolls made of Kennametal tungsten carbide outwore steel parts 25 to 1, one manufacturer adopted Kennametal parts as standard equipment. Result: Maintenance costs were reduced $8000 annually because the gripping edges of Kennametal retained their sharp "bite" much longer. Similar applications include knurling rolls and chuck jaws.

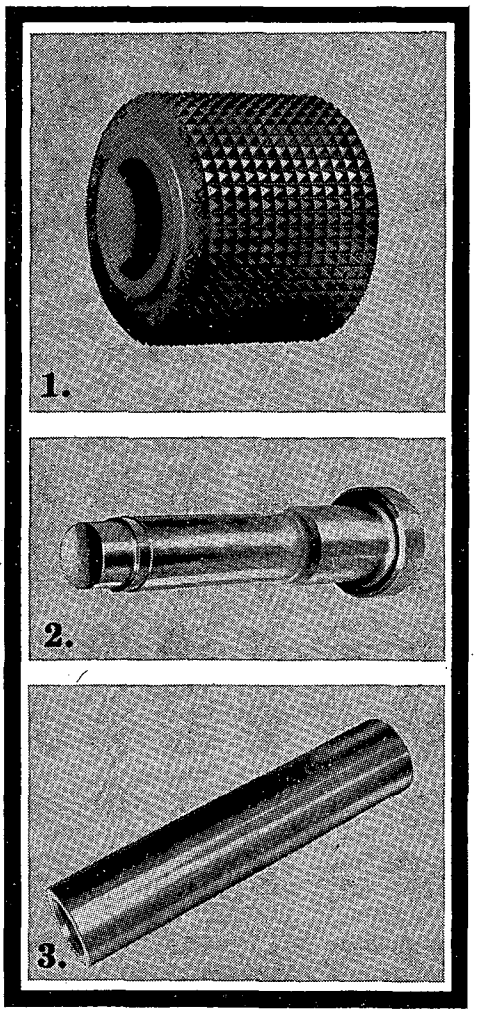
2. IMPACT EXTRUSION—The admitted advantages of chipless machining or cold extrusion are being increased substantially by taking advantage of the high rigidity and resistance to galling of Kennametal. The use of Kennametal extends punch and die life, and provides more uniform dimensional control. Production up to 150,000 pieces between reworking of punches is not uncommon.

3. PRESSURE CYLINDERS—Cylinder liners must stand pressures up to 35,000 psi when gas is compressed for making polyethylene. Steel liners "gave" or deformed enough to permit leakage around pistons. Kennametal solved the problem by providing the necessary rigidity to resist deformation and confine gas leakage within tolerable limits. In a wood pulp pressurizing operation, Kennametal cylinders are wearing many times longer than the stainless steel cylinders previously used.

Kennametal hard carbide alloys resist wear, corrosion, impact, deformation, galling and heat. Use the coupon for more information. In addition to wear parts, Kennametal makes a complete line of carbide metal cutting and mining tools. KENNAMETAL INC., Latrobe, Pa.

*Registered Trademark

47006



KENNAMETAL Inc.

Kennametal Inc., Dept. NR, Latrobe, Pennsylvania

☐ Send me Booklet B-666 "Proven Uses of Kennametal"
☐ Send me booklet on Kennametal metal cutting tools
☐ Have a Kennametal Carbide Engineer call to discuss

Name_____

Title_____

Company_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WEEK

● Uncowed by Bobby Kennedy's headline-milking calf work, Senator George Aiken (R., Vt.) steered the Senate's attention to the 1,200-mile trot made in 90 days by two Vermont cows. Lest Bobby beef that these udder marchers only averaged 14 miles per day, the Senator revealed that they proved their physical fitness by producing 40 pounds of milk daily along the whey from Vermont to St. Louis.

● The UN Special Fund (Mr. Paul Hoffman, chairman), which has just allocated $3 million to one of Castro's agricultural projects, particularly interests Rep. Durward Hall (R., Mo.). He notes that the United States pays 40 per cent of the Fund's bills, while the whole Communist bloc pays 2.6 per cent. And the Communists' exiguous grants are largely made in non-convertible currencies, forcing the Fund to spend them behind the Iron Curtain. The Conscience of the World is too generous to requite Communist parsimony: Communist countries are regular recipients of the Fund's aid, and it has even located its sole nuclear project in Yugoslavia.

● The Italian Communists have been pushing a campaign of vilification against Spain, and with remarkable success (the anti-Communist writer, Ladro Montanelli, assured his TV listeners recently that the Spanish Empire in the Americas was the blackest tyranny in all history). But they may have overreached themselves by causing to be published, by the well-known publishing house of Einaudi, a volume called *Songs of the New Spanish Resistance*, a diatribe so blasphemous and pornographic that not even the sensationalist Italian daily press has dared reproduce the songs as printed in the book. Giulio Einaudi, the publisher, son of the former Italian President and distinguished libertarian Luigi Einaudi, defended himself at a press conference in "the name of freedom of speech," and proceeded to play the tapes on which the "Spanish songs" had ostensibly been transcribed in Spain. The jig was up when all the accents turned out to be Italian.

● Rear Admiral John S. McCain Jr. has proposed a new strategic project for the Navy. Taking note of several new factors (difficulty of predicting where trouble will break out, geographical pattern of Communist expansion, Pentagon policy of graduated deterrence), he suggests that the Navy should form a self-sufficient Fifth Fleet to take control of the "Afro-Asian ocean," stretching from New Guinea to the southern shores of Asia and Africa. "Here, above all other areas," he says, "amphibious power is needed for the projection of combat-ready Marines ashore . . . There is no type of military power known to man that cannot be projected from these mobile bases at sea." As a means of swift and selective military pressure anywhere in the world, the strategy sounds fine, especially if used to supplement the continued U.S. military presence in various foreign areas—Berlin and Taiwan, for example.

● The ambitious 1963 economic plan for the Polish city of Katowice calls for an overall production increase of 12.9 per cent for one category of city workers. Frankly, the morticians don't quite know how to go about it.

● President Kennedy has said he'd be willing to sign a bill reducing income tax rates even if it didn't include "reforms." In making a distinction between rate reduction and reform he overlooks the relationship between the two, which further strengthens the case he put to the American Bankers Association: the effectiveness of special tax provisions ("loopholes") is a function of the tax rates, so that any reduction in rates is an automatic simplification and reform of the tax laws. Nevertheless, while failing to adopt *NR's* terminology, the President has swung around toward the tax program NATIONAL REVIEW has been proposing since mid-1962—a gradual and proportional reduction in personal tax rates down to a range from 15 to 65 per cent. Even a token reduction this year, if proportional to rates, and if accompanied by assurances of further gradual reductions, should set off a spurt of economic energy to gladden the heart of Congress and swell the income of government as well as individuals.

● For every $1 billion the national debt rises, congressional pay would be reduced one per cent; for every $1 billion it decreases, pay would be increased one per cent: legislation proposed by Rep. William Brock III (R., Tenn.). Members of Congress unite! You owe it to yourselves.

● Allstate Enterprises, the Sears Roebuck subsidiary that operates largely in the financial field, is considering starting up a mutual fund "in a small way" later this year. Plans are temporarily suspended while the Securities and Exchange Commission looks into the question of other mutual funds' holdings of Sears stock: there's the prohibition against one fund holding an interest in another. If that minor difficulty is cleared away, Allstate will probably go ahead with its plans. Its life insurance operation, which has been highly successful since

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it sprang into being in 1957, would be the natural distribution system for mutual fund shares; and with 4,800 Allstate insurance agents scattered about the country, the Allstate mutual fund might well grow quickly into one of the biggest. It would also offer millions of Americans their first chance to get in touch with Wall Street. Sing Ho for the People's Capitalism!

● The "Hickenlooper Amendment" to foreign aid legislation cuts off aid to any country that seizes U.S. property without making proper compensation. During hearings on the Amendment the State Department argued against it, saying that the countries that seize property don't have enough cash to make retribution. The Hickenlooper Amendment went into effect on February 1. Burma has announced that it will make compensatory payments for the banks it nationalized a couple of weeks ago. Ceylon, cut off when the Amendment went into effect, shows signs of paying for the American-owned petroleum facilities it has seized. Brazil has begun an orderly compensation to the utility companies that have been taken over. The Amendment is working just fine, and it may help the government to arrive at a more reasonable approach to global giving. If the recent cessation of aid to the corrupt, barbaric government of Haiti bespeaks that harder line, there's reason to hope common sense may finally be forcing its way into the foreign aid program.

● Scare headlines on the California Republican Assembly, which pictured the power struggle as a Birch *vs.* anti-Birch battle, came close to obscuring one development far more important to conservatives nationally than who actually won out (see below). And that is the re-emergence of former Senator William Knowland on the political scene. Since his defeat by Pat Brown in the 1958 election, Knowland has steered clear of political involvement. But in Anaheim, California, a fortnight ago, he made two statements which could well be the tip-off that Bill Knowland is ready to get back into action. 1) He blasted those party members who play the Democratic and leftist game by trying to smear all conservatives as John Birchers; and 2) he came out for a hard Cuban policy. Let's give the Soviets until April 1, he said, to get their troops out of Cuba and if they don't, let's institute a strict naval blockade and close all USSR embassies in the Western Hemisphere. This was the forthright Knowland, sounding as he used to when he was Republican leader in the Senate. May his voice again be heard loud in the land!

● In a nation suffering physical fits, a brave Yale student, defending The Sedentary American, sat down, warned against compulsive do-somethingism, and challenged the President to 30 hours of utter immobility in a rocking chair. Challenge him to do something constructive about Cuba, say we, and he'll be in that rocker, immobile, before you can say "5,000 technicians."

All the News That Manages to Fit

Citizens who have found the talk and counter-talk about "managed news" a puzzle can now get a full answer from the March issue of *Fortune*. Therein Arthur Krock, who has been covering Washington events since William Howard Taft was President, has explained the exact what, why and how of "Mr. Kennedy's Management of the News," and what it leads toward. On the day after publication, it was reported that the President "expressed his opinion of the *Fortune* piece in strong language," using "expletives."

"A news management policy not only exists," Mr. Krock writes, "but, in the form of *direct and deliberate* action, has been enforced more cynically and boldly than by any previous Administration. . . . In the form of *indirect but equally deliberate* action, the policy has been much more effective than direct action in coloring the several facets of public information, because it has been employed with subtlety and imagination for which there is no historic parallel known to me." (The italics are Mr. Krock's.)

It is the President himself who is manager-in-chief; and for its news-doctoring his Administration operates with myriad instruments of "suppression, concealment, distortion, and false weighting of the facts to which the public is entitled, . . . threats, or implication of threats, of shutting off legitimate sources of information to reporters who have dug out facts whose publication embarrasses government for personal, policy, or political reasons."

But Mr. Kennedy devotes his own supreme talent to personal brainwashing. He "prefers the intimate background briefings of journalists, and their publishers . . . from which members emerge in a state of protracted enchantment evoked by the President's charm and the awesome aura of his office."

Mr. Krock amply documents the fact that considerations of national security can explain only a small fraction of the news management. Its chief purpose is to serve the factional and personal interests of the Kennedy regime. "This is a public-relations project and the President is its most brilliant operator. Since the immediate objectives of this selling job are the news reporters (most definitely including the TV

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and radio broadcasters), widely read commentators and flattered editors, publishers and network moguls in particular, the project is much more accurately identified by the phrase 'managing the news.'" From which Mr. Krock draws the sorry conclusion: "For any degree to which this project has been successful the principal onus rests on the printed and electronic press itself."

It may then be added, conversely: the principal force that could most quickly unmanage the Washington news is that same printed and electronic press. It was once assumed to be the business of the press to seek out and unearth the news, no matter how remotely hidden nor how many risks had to be run in the search. It is not impossible to get a reasonably accurate idea of what goes on in Washington—and Katanga, too, for that matter—however adroitly or brutally the Administration tries to fend off prying eyes. But it cannot be done by a press content to rewrite official handouts, repeat official leaks, and relick White House boots.

Trial Run in California

In the recent conventions of the California Young Republicans and Republican Assembly, the anti-conservative faction tried out a new smear tactic. Robert Gaston, who was elected president of the Young Republicans, and Harry Waddell, who was narrowly (273-212) defeated for president of the Assembly, were the conservative leaders. Neither is a member of the John Birch Society, but both got the support of JBS delegates when it came to a showdown against the anti-conservatives. Both, naturally, "accepted" the JBS support, as every practical politician accepts backing where he can find it, short of treason and mayhem. Indeed, how can backing be "refused," even if not wanted?

The tactic of the anti-conservatives, both within the California GOP and throughout much of the national press, was to label Gaston and Waddell "Birch-backed" and "Birch-supported," figuring that these phrases would bring—by association—the negative reaction to "Birch" that two years of all-out propaganda have implanted in many minds.

It is a lame enough device in itself, and will probably play out before too long; for there are enough JBS members of enough different shades to make it likely that there will be some JBS support for virtually any anti-Communist or conservative movement. If the anti-conservative press insists on this tactic, it will wind up calling everything to the right of Americans for Democratic Action "Birch-backed," and the comment may end up being accepted by the general public as a reassuring endorsement.

For the Record

Congressman Johansen (R., Mich.) points out that the one question histrionic Secretary of Defense McNamara couldn't answer was: how many Soviet missiles were carried into Cuba and how many removed during a period of several weeks when weather conditions prevented aerial surveillance? . . . Usually reliable Washington sources say accurate figure of Soviet troops in Cuba is 38,000, by Administration's own (but closely guarded) intelligence estimates. . . . They say number of other Iron and Bamboo Curtain citizens now operating in Cuba is still higher. . . . Reason why President Kennedy had to get some assurance of Soviet troop withdrawals by March 15 was to take steam out of insistence by Caribbean leaders that something drastic be done about Castro—and fast. JFK is scheduled to meet with the anti-Castro hards (Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama) on March 18. . . . Capitol Hill wiseacres remarking that Cuba has escalated into hot war after all—between President Kennedy and the press.

Administration tax reform proposals that have effect of limiting amount individuals can contribute to churches and deduct from taxable income have set off avalanche of mail. Churches of all faiths are organizing letter-writing campaigns, making liberal use of slogan "Render unto Caesar.". . . By lopsided vote (12 to 1), House Rules Committee has killed this year's drive to kill House Committee on Un-American Activities (Dissenter: Rep. Richard Bolling, Missouri Democrat). . . . HUAC supporters cheered that Rep. John Ashbrook, a bright young GOP conservative from Ohio, has been placed on Committee. . . . Intelligence sources anxious to get look-see at post-Oct. 22 Khrushchev letters to Kennedy, but White House refuses to release them on the usual security excuse. . . . Congress not the least bit happy over disclosure that $200,000 of U.S. taxpayers' money has been used by UN propagandists to "improve the image" of the shaky Adoula government in the Congo.

Seasonal note: For first time in recorded history Lake Superior (400 miles long, 100 miles wide) is frozen over from shore to shore.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Negotiating with Communists: A Test Case

From the speech of Senator Thomas J. Dodd to the Senate, February 21, 1963:

The record of the United States . . . at Geneva, since the inception of the test ban negotiations, reveals a consistent and continuing retreat from the basic principles of inspection. . . .

Let me summarize briefly the many critical concessions we have made before Soviet intransigence since we first embarked on the test ban negotiations.

Our initial act of trust in the Soviet Union was the unpoliced nuclear test moratorium on which we embarked in September 1958. . . .

A second vital concession . . . [was agreeing to] a basic formula for detection and inspection which took it for granted that both parties would act in good faith, once the moratorium was superseded by a formal treaty. . . .

Our third concession was our agreement to extend the test ban treaty to cover tests, in space and underground, that cannot possibly be verified.

In December 1961 we made a fourth major concession to the Soviets. We agreed to merge the test ban negotiations with the negotiations on general disarmament; . . . instead of attempting to settle the issue through a conference of the three great nuclear powers, the question of the test ban was now submitted to the judgment of an eighteen-nation conference, which included five Western nations, five Communist nations and eight neutral nations.

Our fifth concession had to do with the size of the detection network. Our original position at Geneva in 1958 called for an international network of 600 to 650 monitoring stations. We compromised on 180 stations worldwide, with 21 in the territory of the Soviet Union. At Geneva last August we informed the Russians that we were willing to consider a substantial reduction in the number of monitoring stations . . . Ambassador Dean said . . . "something like 80." . . .

As our sixth concession, we have indicated that we are willing to limit on-site inspections to a very small number per annum. . . . At the first Geneva Conference [1958], our representatives initially held out for on-site inspections of all undetermined seismic events above the magnitude of five kilotons, and of 20 per cent of the shocks below this level. In 1961 we offered to reduce the quota of on-site inspections to 20 per annum. During the summer of last year it was several times indicated that we might be willing to agree to twelve on-site inspections per annum. [We have now reduced our figure to seven, and have suggested we might go even lower.] . . .

Concession No. 7 had to do with the organization and functioning of the control commission. Not only did we accept the principle of parity for the Communist and non-Communist nations on the Commission, but we agreed to give the Soviets veto power over the appointment of the Executive Officer. . . .

We have made the removal of the Executive Officer virtually impossible by proposing that . . . a decision to remove him would require the concurring votes of eleven members of the Commission. This was concession No. 8.

Concession No. 9 . . . played down the importance of inspection by stipulating that the Executive Officer shall "be guided by the considerations that the permanent staff shall be kept to the minimum necessary to perform its assigned functions." In line with this we [eliminated] . . . all mention of the need for a joint scientific program for the purpose of improving methods of detection and verification.

Our tenth concession was graver. In our proposals of last August 27 we compromised our position further by completely eliminating the so-called threshold of detection that is the dividing line between underground tests big enough to be identified and those that are too small to be identified by current methods. . . .

Our eleventh concession had to do with the duration of an unpoliced moratorium on undetectable underground tests if a formal treaty banning nuclear tests were signed. . . . In our proposal of August 27, 1962 we have agreed in advance that, on the day a treaty is signed, tests of all sizes, detectable or not, would be forbidden.

In the recent negotiations we have accepted the principle that much of the job of monitoring can be taken over by sealed black boxes. . . . This . . . can only be justified on the alternative assumptions, either that completely tamperproof black boxes can, through some miracle, be devised by technologists, or that the Soviets would in no way attempt to interfere with the boxes or with transmission from the boxes or with periodic inspections of the black box network. . . . This was our twelfth concession to guilelessness.

Finally, we have made a serious concession to the preposterous principle of national inspection. Our draft treaty of August 27, 1962 stipulates . . . that the monitoring stations . . . "shall be maintained and manned by nationals of the states in whose territory such station is located." If this principle is ever translated into reality, it will be tantamount to creating a situation in which the Russians are charged with the responsibility of deciding whether or not they are cheating and whether or not to convey this information to us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is There a Historian in the House?

For about two years the Administration and the press have been telling us that the trouble in the Congo was all caused by Moise Tshombe and his drive for a separate Katanga, and that the Central Government in Léopoldville was a responsible and duly constituted body, if only someone cleaned up the Katangan mess. And so UN troops and Central Government troops, with U.S. support, proceeded to crush Katanga.

Now that Tshombe is gone, however, the news managers are letting a little light shine on Léopoldville. Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland, back from a survey of the Congo, is reported to have discovered that the Central Government is so full of corruption that any further U.S. aid should be carefully controlled. And the UN troops aren't pulling out: they have to stay to maintain the peace threatened not by Katanga but by the undisciplined troops of the Central Government's army, which constitute a menace to public order.

Katanga's secession, it was said, would deprive Léopoldville of the revenues it needed to stay solvent. Well, Léopoldville has Katanga now but is far from solvent: the Central Government is spending five times the amount it draws in, and the consequent inflation has become ruinous.

And the U.S. was supposed to be working for democratic self-determination in Africa (except, of course, in Katanga). Now comes an official announcement that democracy is slightly too sophisticated for Africans: they'll have to settle for some form of single-party rule, and jail (or the kettle) for the Opposition.

Outright lies and almost total news suppression about the Congo have been the order of the day, both at the UN and in Washington, even while the European press has given wide coverage over the years to the atrocities committed by UN and Central Government troops.

Not long ago Cyrille Adoula, head of the Central Government, paid a visit to Elisabethville, the now subjugated capital of Katanga. He was met by 20,000 members of the Baluba tribe, the ancient enemies of the Lunda (Tshombe's tribe). Many were members of the terrorist *Jeunesse Balubakat*. The women had daubed their faces with white clay. The men carried bicycle chains.

The Neighbors Object

The United States is a big country, and in a direct and immediate sense Cuba is not a military threat to us, even though only ninety miles away.

But we are not the only nation ninety or so miles from Cuba. How does a Communist Cuba look to the governments of the other countries ringing the Caribbean? They gave part of the answer in the portions of a report of a special committee of the Organization of American States, just released, detailing "Communist subversion, Cuba as the base for subversion in the American continents, the movement of subversive propaganda, and the traffic of funds destined for subversive activities in the American republics." The OAS committee chairman reported that Cuban funds flow to every country "from Mexico to Argentina," that the situation is more serious today than it was a year ago and that the threat of subversion "has been made obvious, at times dramatically, in the recent wave of terrorism, sabotage,

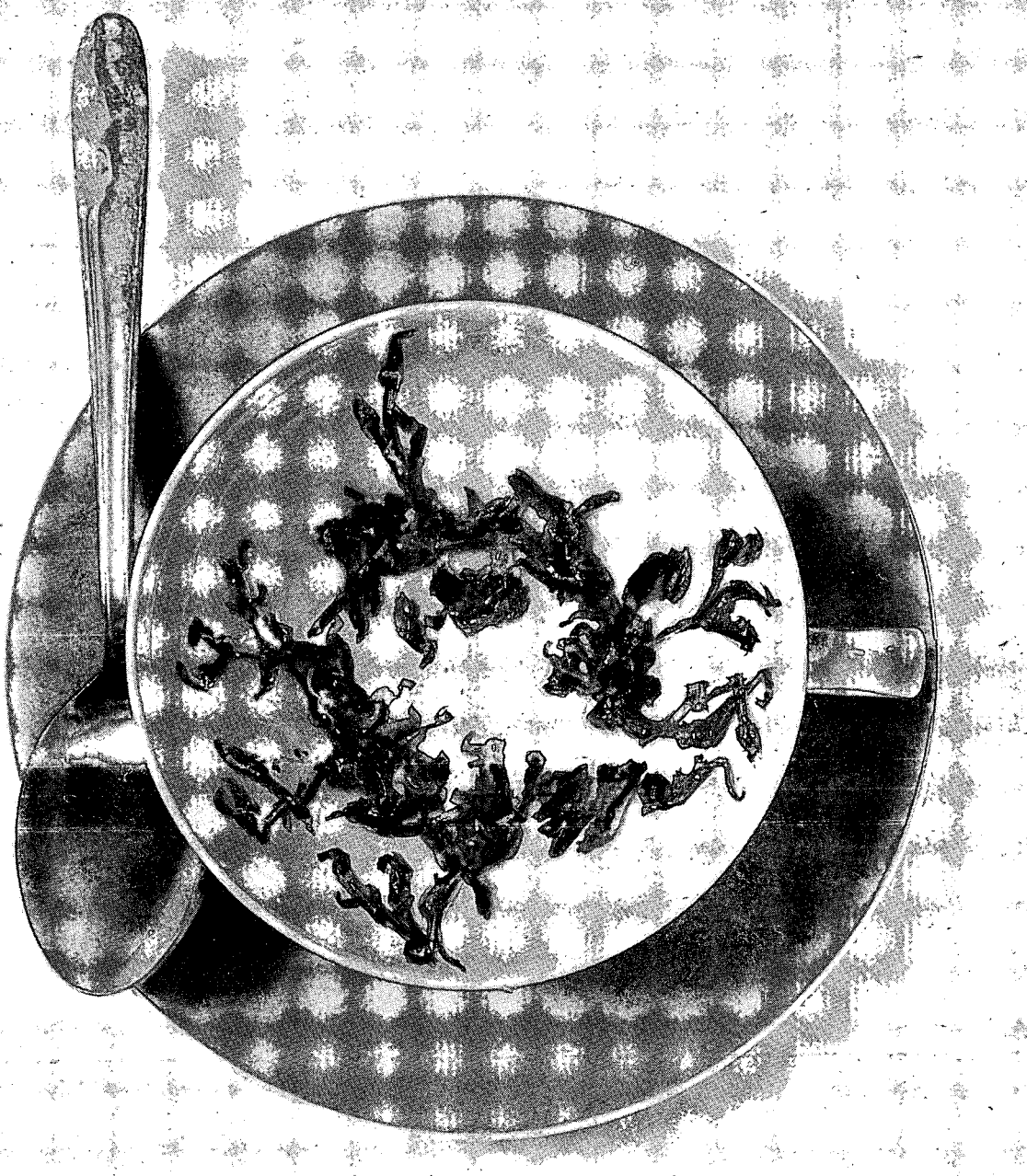
IN THE NEXT ISSUE

THE IMPORTANCE OF BRINKMANSHIP
by Edgar Ansel Mowrer

EXACTLY 102 GREAT IDEAS
by John Leonard

SPRING BOOK ROUNDUP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



can we predict the future?

No. And we make no claim to.

Still, we have called some pretty good shots.

For instance, almost six years ago we published an article ("The Strange Past of Fidel Castro," NR August 24, 1957) crammed full of details about the bright Red past of a young revolutionary who was then the toast of the American Left.

The author, Alice Leone Moats, said: "Whether or not Fidel Castro himself is a Communist is immaterial, since he does appear to be linked up with them and is playing their game . . ."

And, she concluded: "If Castro should win, the Cubans will only find themselves with another dictator on their necks."

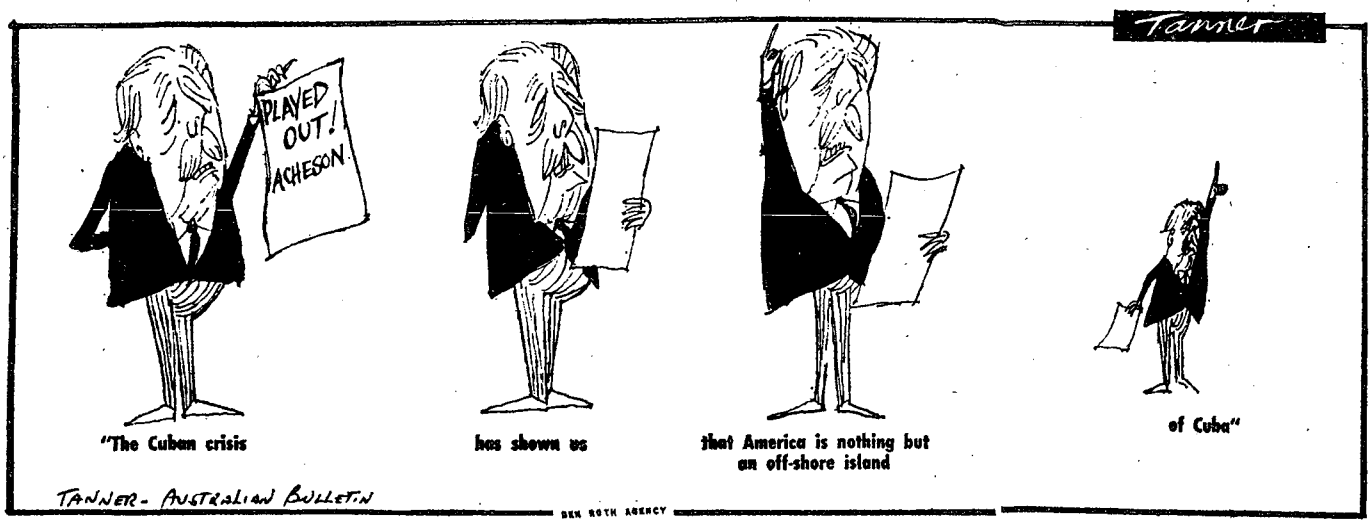
Not bad, to have said that almost two-and-a-half years before Castro took over. In those days, it took more than an honest look at the facts—it took nerve.

You can depend on **National Review** for **that.** No other magazine in America is more daring than **National Review** when it comes to reporting the unvarnished truth. Don't you know someone who would **like** to know that kind of magazine? Why not do some friend of yours (not to mention us!) a favor by recommending **National Review.**

Use the card facing this page today—and tell the lucky friend of your choice, if the Castro story seems hard to believe, to ask for a copy when subscribing. We'll be glad to send one, with our compliments.

P.S. Naturally, we'd be happy to send one to you, too. Just write P. J. Gorman, **National Review.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



and other subversive activities that Castro Communism has unleashed in some Latin American countries."

Two weeks ago, President Kennedy heard from Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt an account of the subversion and terrorism as it affected his country—where the revolutionary movement that sabotages plants and refineries, bombs peaceful citizens, burns houses and farms, and hijacks freighters, openly declares its ties with Castro and Communism.

In recent days the governments of Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua—and perhaps others less publicly—have openly stated that Castro's Cuba is a clear and present danger to their security and that they are prepared to join in whatever means are necessary to get rid of Cuba's Communist regime. They wholly agree with Senator Keating's repeated refrain: "If we do not meet the threat . . . if we downgrade it or pretend it does not exist, . . . I predict we shall see one country after another fall victim to Communism until the cancer has spread throughout Latin America." Even Senator Hubert Humphrey was constrained to forget his ADA membership long enough to say plainly, when President Betancourt was in town: "The Communists have occupied Cuba. Now they seek to conquer Venezuela. The battle is on. . . ."

Mr. Kennedy is so busily managing the news that it may be he has managed himself out of all touch with reality. But now the voices are beginning to speak up from the small but basic allies of our continent—whose leader and defender, in our own interest as in theirs, we have supposed ourselves destined to be. Their heads, they know, are on the block. Perhaps the President will be able to hear them better than Senators Keating, Dodd or Goldwater, before Senator Humphrey rises to observe: "The Communists have occupied the nations of the Caribbean. Now they seek to conquer the United States. The battle is on. . . ."

Thanks, But No Thanks

"I am closely watching developments in Borneo with the view of devising some formulation which might help ease the tensions."

U Thant

We have your letter, sir. We know
Your formula for Borneo
Will indicate a neutral view . . .
But don't call us, please. We'll call you.

Regarding "formulas," the Dutch
Informed us how your help was such
A blessing in New Guinea, too . . .
But don't call us, please. We'll call you.

So just relax. Don't pack. Sit tight.
Don't talk to anyone. Don't write.
You'll be the first official who
Receives our call . . . but we'll call *you*.

W. H. VON DREELE

Notes and Asides

Many readers continue to ask us why NATIONAL REVIEW isn't on *their* local newsstand. The answer, we repeat, is that we would like very much to be, and we hope soon to be, but we just haven't managed to cover the entire nation, quite yet. (It does no harm, by the way, to tell your newsdealer how disappointed you are that he has no pile of *NR*s.) A gratifying number of readers are beginning to report, however, that NATIONAL REVIEW *is* now available in their area, and that they are suggesting to their friends to pick up a copy, or even two copies. Go, friend, and do likewise. Often.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE RIGHT

Quiet. Conspiracy at Work

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

It is very unfashionable nowadays to believe that conspiracies can accomplish anything at all; and it is widely charged that to suggest that a conspiracy might account for any American reversal whatsoever is un-American, and, worse, unsophisticated. A while ago General MacArthur's chief of staff wrote a book charging that the reason why the Red Chinese ventured to descend south of the Yalu was that they had found out from their spies in Washington that orders had gone out to General MacArthur that he must not under any circumstances bomb the Manchurian bases. The critics jumped all over the poor author, pooh-poohing such melodramatic political speculation. And of course the fuss over Mr. Robert Welch of the John Birch Society is to a very considerable extent based on Mr. Welch's fascination with the conspiracy as the operative agent of our decline and fall.

Buckley

Losing on Our Own

I happen to believe that if there were not a single Communist spy in America, we'd still be losing the Cold War—because the classrooms of Harvard are simply no substitute for the playing fields of Eton. And where our statesmen go to school, they drink deeply of Liberalism; and Liberalism makes for the worst and most ineffective foreign policy in the history of diplomacy.

But I have a very great respect for the accomplishments of professional conspirators. Great respect, for instance, for the Fuchs-Rosenberg apparatus, which succeeded in whisking off the secrets of our atom bomb to the Soviet Union, enabling our enemies to detonate a bomb in 1949, six years before our military planners had anticipated; thus rocking our entire strategic thought.

I have respect for the accomplishments of Martin and Mitchell, who eloped to Moscow, surfacing just after our U-2 plane was apprehended—and respect for the theory, held widely in Washington, that the boys arrived in Moscow with the full details of our U-2 operation, on the basis of which the Russians were able to knock down Powers' plane and alter diplomatic history.

General Eisenhower's attempt to flank German defenses along the Rhine in the fall of 1944 by a daring airdrop behind enemy lines at Nijmegen failed, and several thousand British paratroopers died, because, as it later developed, the Dutch resistance leader in the area had, for some time, been in the pay of the Gestapo.

Do you remember Israel Beer? He was the State of Israel's Barney Baruch, friend and confidant of everyone in the government, especial friend of Ben-Gurion. What do you know, two years ago he was arrested: it transpired he had been a Soviet spy for years. It is conjectured that Beer informed Russia that Israel was on the point of invading Suez in 1956, whereupon Khrushchev felt free to send the tanks to crush the Budapest rioters. Had he not had the assurance of the great international distraction to be caused imminently by the invasion of Suez, he would not have had the nerve to march on Budapest; and the revolution might have succeeded.

And it isn't just Martin Dies, Joe McCarthy and Robert Welch who talk about conspiracies. The Liberal hero Thomas Jefferson waged his campaign in 1800 on the charge that the opposition was conspiring to undermine the American Revolution and introduce a monarchy. The Liberal hero Andrew Jackson charged that the Bank of the United States was engaged in a vast plot to subvert republican government. Abraham Lincoln in 1858 went around the country insisting that there was a conspiracy embracing two Presidents, a chief of justice of the Supreme Court, and the senator from Illinois (the famous Four Horsemen—"Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James"), to spread slavery, not only to the free territories, but to the free states. Many of the "bloody shirt" elections after the Civil War were fought on the premise that there was a plot to undo the results of the war and restore slavery. As a matter of fact, the first party to hold a national convention was the anti-Masonic party, which charged that the Masons were in a conspiracy to assassinate all their enemies.

Authentically American

Conspiracy talk, in a word, may be naive, and may be deplorable, but it is hard to find anything that is more authentically American.

As in so many situations, the truth lies somewhere in between. I tend to fear not that the pendulum is going too far in the direction of Mr. Robert Welch, but too far in the direction of total nonchalance about the fact that *a*) conspiracies do exist, and *b*) that they do accomplish great purposes. At this very moment, thousands (not hundreds, thousands) of men are receiving training on how best to take advantage of your weaknesses and mine, and Mr. Kennedy's. And some of these men, conspiring with others, will affect the battle-lines of the future; and always they will cackle at the foggy foggy superstitions of our dogged intellectualizers, that conspiracies—assuming, sniff, that they exist—don't, sniff, accomplish anything very much.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Washington Straight

CATO

For the better part of two years Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara has held Congress enthralled. Would-be critics faltered when faced by the cool executive who had, at fingertip, the answer to almost any question about his Department. His skill when called to testify before congressional committees became legendary. As a result, senators and congressmen alike watched helplessly while McNamara helped shepherd through far-reaching changes in the nation's defense policies.

Cato

But McNamara's superman mantle is beginning to slip. He recently took a beating from Senator Barry Goldwater and other members of the Senate Armed Services Committee when he tried to explain to them the reasons behind the Administration decision to abandon the U.S. Jupiter missile bases in Turkey and Italy. This was a new McNamara, obviously embarrassed by his examiners, unable to give convincing answers.

The Secretary's troubles in the House arise from a different quarter. Here his mask has not cracked and the former awe and respect with which he has been regarded is turning into fear. Congressmen have begun to worry that McNamara's slide rules and IBM machines do not have all the answers. They believe that the Secretary is listening more and more to his civilian aides and less and less to his military advisers. This uneasiness will, in all probability, be translated into a full-scale congressional examination of the Administration's military and foreign policy before summer.

Congressman Craig Hosmer's tart aside that "the Administration has abandoned its 'no win' policy for a 'sure lose' policy" is too close for comfort. The Republicans are broadcasting their complaints for all to hear, but that doesn't mean that there isn't growing dissatisfaction and worry on the Democratic side over Mr. McNamara's latter-day defense policies, which may soon break out into the open.

May Craig looks for all the world like journalism's Grandma Moses, but she is about as tough a cross-examiner as the Washington press corps can claim. It was she who asked the President at a press conference about his "managed news" policy. The President ducked the question and replied in a manner calculated to smother the query in laughter. But it didn't come off as well as it would have six months ago because managed news isn't funny anymore to most Capitol newsmen.

The issue of managed news has failed to excite the public as much as it should because of a widespread misunderstanding of it. This is not a Ministry of Truth dispensing lies *à la 1984*. What is in question here is the availability of legitimate news. What the Administration does not want known does not get known. News sources in the various government agencies have ceased to be news sources. Government handouts are often worthless and always suspect. In the case of Cuba, and in matters relating to the Cold War in general, what information is made available usually turns out to have been less than the whole story and is often misleading. Newsmen frequently report as fact information received from *bona fide* sources which turns out to be fiction after the passage of a decent interval of time. The press corps is not accustomed to be treated as the fall guy and as a group it bitterly resents it.

Everyone is aware of the effort of Palace spokesmen to impress on Americans that President Kennedy is a latter-day Lorenzo de' Medici. Concern for the arts is second only to the President's concern for the unemployed, we are advised. The Moner Liser caused enough furor in town to collect miles of newspaper space (even to the comment of one newsman that "it isn't the Moner Liser, it's La Gioconder").

This latest culture explosion seared Rep. William Widnall (R., N.J.), heretofore known as one of the GOP's top experts on economic and fiscal matters. Widnall looked into the New Frontier's patronage of the arts, and found that it doesn't add up to much.

He talked to representatives of a number of cultural organizations and found them in almost universal agreement that the nation's capital is culturally in a mess. The much-ballyhooed interest of the President and his family in the arts doesn't extend to helping art where it really needs help. The National Culture Center is a good example. This projected Center has aroused much public interest, and regular news dispatches tell of Mrs. Kennedy's breathless interest in the scheme. But nothing is getting done, and the Center remains little more than a dream.

Rep. Widnall intends to keep digging on the subject despite the kidding he's getting. He seems to enjoy being designated as the Opposition's cultural expert.

Bits and Pieces—Congressional adjournment is the favorite topic for speculation in Washington already. At this point in the session the rumors generally suggest a July 31 adjournment, but this year everybody concedes that Congress will be around until, as Charlie Halleck likes to put it, "the snow flies."

- One of Washington's biggest radio stations is rumored to be on the block—the seller being one of the nation's top Liberals.
- Washington has been eagerly awaiting a new book on the Kennedy family written many months ago by Victor Lasky. The word now is that the publisher has junked the project. Reason: too much political dynamite.
- The Administration didn't pay much heed to the sober report of the Republican Conference Committee on Nuclear Testing corroborating the dangers of the Geneva talks, but it attracted interest elsewhere. Iron Curtain embassies have been sending to the Hill for copies of the Committee's report.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Third World War

Who Will Defend Europe?

JAMES BURNHAM

The special relation of the United States to western Europe since the end of the Second World War has been based on three premises: 1) western Europe is not able to assure its own defense against Soviet Russia; 2) the U.S. is able to assure Europe's defense; 3) the U.S. is willing to do so. From these three premises, two conclusions automatically follow: *a*) the formation of an "Atlantic" alliance—*i.e.*, a military coalition including both western Europe and North America; *b*) the leadership of the U.S. in the alliance.

If the ultimate burden of the defense of Europe rests on the U.S., then the alliance cannot be in reality a panel of equals. The U.S. must necessarily be the controlling partner, and this status must be outwardly symbolized. Thus, NATO's Supreme Commander has always been an American; Washington has always had the decisive voice in determining the War Plan; and the U.S. Commander-in-Chief—not NATO's commander—has always kept exclusive control over the primary strategic weapons system.

For a long while the first and second premises most certainly held, and the third was plausible. No one doubted that Europe could not, and the U.S. could, defend Europe. So long, in fact, as the U.S. possesses the capability to devastate Russia, it *can* defend western Europe against a direct armed takeover. The reason is simple: Russia will not make a direct military attack on Europe if she is convinced that the U.S. does have that capability and is surely willing to use it.

Until quite recently there seemed no sufficient reason to doubt the willingness any more than the ability. While the U.S. had a monopoly of effective nuclear systems, there was nothing to lose, for either Europe or America, by a defense of Europe through nuclear retaliation in the event of an armed attack. When Russia developed systems that brought western Europe within nuclear range, this raised awkward problems for the Europeans who faced annihilation, but brought no new material factor bearing directly on America's will to respond.

Hold That Line?

Washington during this period did, moreover, give tangible evidence of the will to defend Europe. The Marshall Plan, intervention in the Greek civil war, the formation of NATO, the response to the Berlin blockade and the solid support of West Germany showed that America would not permit the line that crystallized out of the war to be pushed farther west. Both western Europe and Moscow believed that the Dulles doctrine of massive retaliation meant what it said, at least in relation to the defense of western Europe.

But not long ago a fundamental shift in the strategic balance got under way. This came through Russian development of nuclear systems capable of carrying mass destruction to the U.S. home territory. Just as on the U.S. side, the launching mechanisms are being made virtually invulnerable. Moreover, the latest Russian nuclear tests were planned to demonstrate, and did demonstrate, that the Russian arsenal was featuring devices of very great explosive power, suited not for controlled use against military targets but for indiscriminate area devastation.

This means that in a nuclear exchange the U.S. now faces the prospect of home casualties totalling scores of millions, perhaps half or more of the population.

Realizing this fact and reflecting on it, west Europeans are reaching a natural enough conclusion: it is improbable that the U.S. Government will deliberately accept such a loss in order to defend western Europe. Thus the third premise of the postwar Atlantic structure falls, and the entire structure is thereby thrown into disequilibrium. This is the principal cause of the present crisis in NATO, of de Gaulle's unilateral somersaults, of Britain's political and strategic turmoil, etc. The Washington correspondent of the London *Times* summed the matter up in his Feb. 17 dispatch: "The question whether the President would be prepared to accept the logic of a nuclear exchange at such a tremendous cost is at present unanswerable. Nevertheless, there is some expert military opinion here that he has already answered in the negative."

If the U.S. is no longer willing to assure the defense of western Europe, then there is no longer any reason for western Europe to accept U.S. strategic and political leadership. But the European trouble is deeper: because premise 1) still obtains—that is, western Europe cannot defend itself.

But What Alternative?

If Europe can no longer rely on the U.S. in relation to Russia, then it would seem that Europe must make its own arrangements: which means, *either* acquire the sufficient means of self-defense, *or* arrange a deal with Moscow. Both alternatives can, of course, be simultaneously pursued, and de Gaulle is in fact proceeding along both horns of his dilemma: but without, I think, having thought through the question whether either one leads anywhere.

There is a third alternative: that the collapse of the postwar Western structure under the shifted strategic realities should be made the occasion for building a new and sounder structure corresponding to the new realities—including western Europe's new economic strength and its modest but inevitably growing nuclear potential. Such a structure would require as much change on the part of the U.S. as of Europe; it would mean a much closer, not looser, Atlantic alliance, and an America which, though still first, would be first among equals. Without this, the disintegration of the Western camp looks likely, in a despairing mood of *sauve qui peut.* The Communist enterprise, against which a united West can still prevail, will be given what every strategist seeks: the chance to defeat the enemy in detail.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Psychiatry's Threat to Civil Liberties

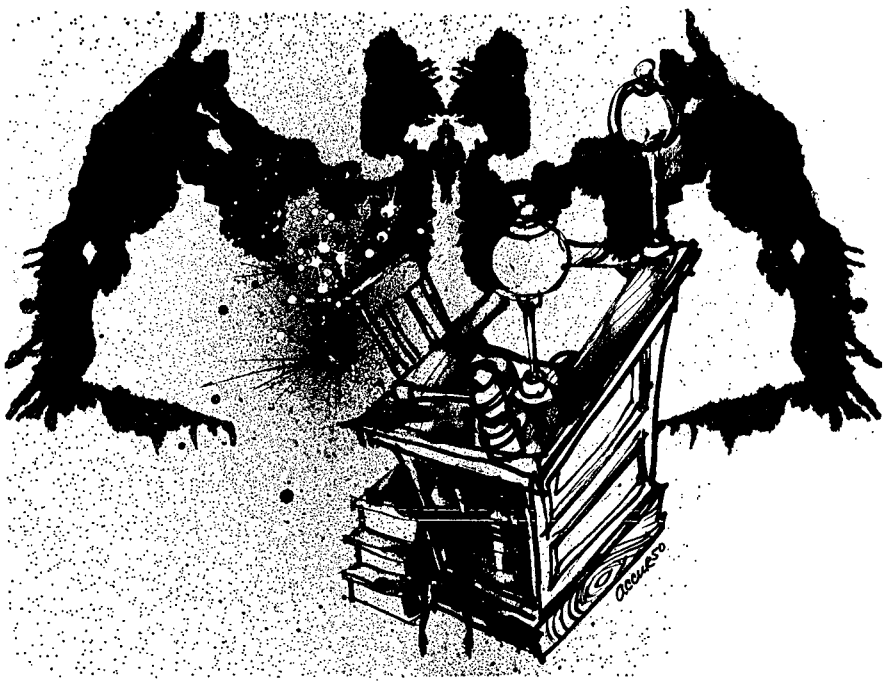
Only one man can deprive the non-criminal of his freedom, warns the author, in a sober review of a dangerous trend in commitment procedures

THOMAS S. SZASZ

When President Kennedy sent to the Congress early in February his message on mental illness, he drew attention to the size of the problem in economic terms: 600,000 Americans are in mental institutions (some experts say one in every ten Americans is mentally ill); half the hospital beds in the nation are for mental patients; billions of dollars are spent yearly for psychiatric services. But I do not propose to discuss mental illness as a threat to American society. Rather, I want to discuss modern psychiatry as a threat to traditional American liberties.

How does psychiatry endanger liberty? In many ways, but here are two of the most important. First, no professional person but a psychiatrist is empowered by law to deprive people of their freedom when they have not been convicted of a crime. This is called commitment or involuntary mental hospitalization. Second, only psychiatrists are empowered by law to declare persons accused of a crime mentally sick and hence unfit to stand trial. This is called pre-trial psychiatric examination. Its victims are deprived of the right to trial guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, and are incarcerated for an indefinite term in "hospitals" for the criminally insane.

Civil commitment is, of course, nothing new. Before the days of modern psychiatry, the alienists—as psychiatrists were then called—were essentially jailers. They confined, and kept out of society's hair, not only the insane, but also the destitute, the incurably ill, and the petty criminal. Out of this undifferentiated prison-hospital the modern public mental institution arose. To a large extent, it fulfills the same social needs today. Nearly one third of the inmates of state hospitals are old men and women, "technically" not mentally ill (even in the view of those who run these hospitals), but with no place to go; another group is composed of minor offenders who are not prosecuted, but instead are committed as mental patients. Finally, even those considered mentally ill are hospitalized not so much because they are "ill" but because they annoy others.



A Special Case?

Some readers may object. My emphasis—they may wish to point out—is misplaced: after all, is it not true that mental illness is just like any other illness? When mental patients are hospitalized, willingly or not, isn't it for their own good?

No, and here's why:

If mental illness is like any other, why are more than 90 per cent of the patients in public hospitals confined against their will? Why are they deprived of the right to vote, make telephone calls, write uncensored letters, drive a car? These are only the most flagrant deprivations of their liberties.

If mental illness is like any other, why is the hospital practice of psychiatry almost completely socialized? And why are the American Medical Association and the American Psychiatric Association pleased with this arrangement, despite the fact that they are the leading advocates of "free medicine" for non-psychiatric illness? (The American Medical Association, for example, opposes medical aid for the elderly through social security, but approves of psychiatric aid to anyone—young or old, rich or poor—financed through federal and state taxation.)

If mental illness is like any other, why do many mental hospitals housing thousands of patients have no more than a half-dozen physicians on their staff? Do so few doctors care for so many patients in *any* non-psychiatric hospital?

And if mental illness is like any other, why does the law recognize a special psychiatric plea—insanity;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and a special psychiatric verdict—"not guilty by reason of insanity"; and a special psychiatric sentence—commitment for an indefinite period to a hospital for the criminally insane? Can a person plead that he is not guilty of an offense because, when he committed it, he suffered from pneumonia? Or hypertension? Or cancer? Can he be acquitted for such medical illnesses? Or sentenced to imprisonment in a medical institution that is *not* psychiatric?

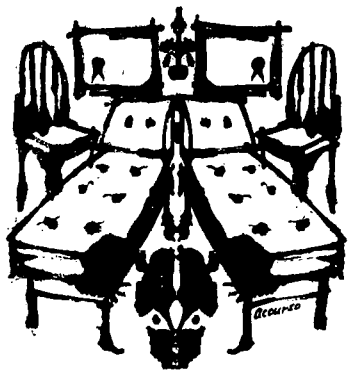
A moment's reflection should convince anyone either that mental illness differs significantly from physical illness, or if not, that it is treated very differently in our present-day society. These considerations, and others more technical, have led me to suggest that *mental illness is a myth.* By this I mean that mental illness is a metaphorical expression. Just as we call people physically ill when their body functioning violates certain anatomical and physiological norms, so we call people mentally ill when their personal conduct violates certain ethical, political, or social norms. This explains why many historical figures, from Jesus Christ to Castro, from Job to Hitler, have been diagnosed as suffering from this or that psychiatric malady.

Menace to Freedom

Psychiatrists thus menace a free society through their power to commit a person as mentally ill, to treat him against his will, and to keep him incarcerated indefinitely. To be sure, there are some safeguards against the most flagrant abuses of these powers; but they are inadequate. This is so partly because the very basis for involuntary hospitalization—mental illness—is an ill-defined and misleading concept.

Psychiatrists also menace a free society through their power to subvert constitutional rights by claiming that a person is not a citizen with certain inalienable rights but a mental patient in need of "treatment." This maneuver of transforming a person from citizen to "mental patient" is best illustrated by the pre-trial psychiatric examination of offenders. By means of this procedure Ezra Pound was hospitalized as mentally sick for fourteen years. Recently the government sought to submit General Walker to this treatment. It is in this way that thousands of lesser men, who never make the headlines, lose their freedom—sometimes for life, and often for crimes they did not commit, or if they did, for which sentences would be relatively short.*

Not so many years ago, the plea of insanity was a tactic reserved for the defense. It was used mainly in capital offenses. The plea implied that the accused admitted committing the acts charged, but hoped to escape the death penalty by throwing himself on the mercy of the court and offering to go to a mental hospital, for life if necessary.



But the psychiatrically "enlightened" person of today is supposed to have a more "sophisticated" view of this problem. He *knows* that some people are mentally ill. He also *knows* that such people are not responsible for their actions, and that it would therefore be inhuman to judge and punish them. How he knows this, I do not know. Nor do I know why such self-styled psychiatric Liberals think that incarceration in a psychiatric hospital is *not* punishment. Nevertheless, these are their self-proclaimed premises and beliefs.

This creates a new situation. If insanity is a disease like any other, its determination can no longer be of interest solely to the defense. The prosecutor, the judge, indeed anyone may now take part in it, and rationalize his act as humane interest in the welfare of the defendant. This opens up undreamed-of possibilities for psychiatric abuses.

For the prosecution, establishing the defendant's insanity instead of his guilt may become an easy method of securing "conviction" and "imprisonment"; the defendant found unfit to stand trial will be incarcerated in a psychiatric institution for an indefinite period—a sentence at least as severe as might result from conviction and imprisonment.

To the judge, too, establishing the defendant's incapacity to stand trial may be tempting; it will save him the effort of conducting a trial that may be filled with distressing emotional and moral dilemmas. Both he and the jury will be spared a taxing experience, if only the defendant can be shown to be crazy.

For the psychiatrist, finding the defendant mentally disabled may be appealing for still another reason: "diagnosing" signs and symptoms of mental *illness* proves the reality of this mythical disorder. Pre-trial psychiatric examination of offenders thus lends support to the idea that the determination of an individual's ability to stand trial is properly a psychiatric affair. But how could it be? Are we asked to believe that, regardless of their "mental health," two persons as different as, say, a professor of political science and a janitor are equally able to assist counsel in their defense? Fitness to stand trial, like fitness to perform any task competently, is relative. Nor is it clear why psychiatrists should be particularly well qualified to judge it. If we are really interested in a defendant's ability to stand trial, could it not be better assessed by his own lawyers, than by psychiatrists? Could it not be better assessed by the judge, on the basis of the defendant's actual conduct in the courtroom, than on the basis of his performance in psychiatric interviews interpreted by psychiatrists with a vested interest in "mental illness"?

These are only a few of the more obvious incentives and seductions (I do not mention money, power, prestige) that may motivate men to use psychiatry without regard for the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Consider the case of General Walker. When arrested, he asked the judge if he would be tried in Mississippi, where the alleged crime took place. When assured that he would, he

*Example: in 1958 a young man was, without benefit of a trial, confined to a New York State hospital for the criminally insane, on suspicion of murder, and because he insisted on his innocence based on a very bizarre story. He stuck to his story for four years of "mental" imprisonment, during which time he was examined by nine different psychiatrists on seventeen different occasions, and he would be imprisoned even now if a Long Island attorney had not become interested in the case. The attorney simply investigated the actual facts and found the young man's story to be true. He was released from mental prison; all charges against him have been dropped; he is free. And so are the nine psychiatrists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waived preliminary hearing. But instead of moving to try him, the government held him without bail as a suspected mental patient. Walker's attorneys managed to secure his release, on bail, but only on condition that he would submit to psychiatric examination within five days.

Questionable Procedures

General Walker's psychiatric examination was instigated by a psychiatrist in the employ of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, who never examined Walker. He sent a telegram to the federal judge in Oxford, Mississippi, suggesting that Walker undergo psychiatric examination to determine his fitness to stand trial. The judge thereupon ordered the examination.

If uncontested, the examination would have been carried out by government psychiatrists at the Federal Medical Center in Springfield, Missouri. Is this sound procedure, particularly since the U.S. Government is a party to the litigation against Walker? Yet, this is how the law stands, and how it is ordinarily administered. Imagine that instead of General Walker, the defendant is John Doe. How would *he* defend himself against the charge—for that's what it is—of mental illness? Could he find an attorney to represent him? Lawyers are loath to accept such cases, and they cannot be blamed too much for this; after all, they have been trained to protect their clients from accusations of crime, not of mental illness! But even if John Doe should succeed in retaining an attorney, his defense would be worthless without positive psychiatric testimony. He would need one or more psychiatrists to testify that he *is* capable of standing trial. Could he find such psychiatrists? Could he pay them?

The psychiatric threat to liberty hits the American people where they are most vulnerable—in their unremitting desire to be helpful. By offering to diagnose and treat an illness (not to control social conduct), psychiatrists are permitted to do what no one else may do—namely, deprive Americans of their constitutional rights. The crux of the matter lies in the definition of psychiatric action, especially in the courtroom. Is it a medical function, whose aim is to promote the health of the individual and of the community? Is it a punitive function, whose aim is to control deviant behavior and thus protect the comfort and safety of the community? Is it an ideological function, whose aim is to promote, under the guise of a quasi-scientific jargon, the ethic of a psychiatric elite?

The fact is that a person accused of crime may refuse, under the Fifth Amendment, to answer certain questions on the ground that he may incriminate himself. But what about the pre-trial psychiatric examination of a defendant who does not himself plead insanity? Could *he* refuse to submit to such an examination on the ground that the Sixth Amendment guarantees him the right to speedy and public trial? The answer will depend entirely on whether the pre-trial psychiatric examination is considered beneficial or detrimental to the defendant. If detrimental, then it is "punishment," and the accused is entitled to the protection of the Constitution. If it is deemed beneficial, however—and is regarded as a diagnostic procedure necessary to establish whether or not the defendant is mentally "sick," in order better to protect his own interests—then constitutional guarantees are so far considered to be completely irrelevant to it.

Social control disguised as psychiatric therapy offers unlimited possibilities for tyranny, and we should, at the very least, be conscious of the dangerous path we are now treading.

Special Report

What's in Store for Iraq

SUSAN HUCK

Abdul Karim el-Kassem, late dictator of Iraq, went out the way he came in. He was personally responsible for the brutal murders which accompanied the *coup* of July 14, 1958; he met an equally summary and brutal death at the hands of his successors. It rarely works out so neatly. But there was one element of irony. What ultimately brought about Kassem's downfall was not that he was too ruthless but that he was not ruthless enough. Four years ago one of Kassem's military tribunals sentenced Abdul Salam Aref —the present strongman—to death for his part in a plot to murder Kassem. And Kassem let him off. They had been close friends and fellow-conspirators. When Kassem's Bastille Day revolution exploded on a hot July morning in 1958, it was Aref, a colonel in Kassem's division, who actually seized Baghdad; Kassem himself held the rest of the force in reserve. This was the kind of soldierly friendship Kassem found hard to forget; because of it, he spared Aref's life. Aref show no such compunction when his moment came.

The new regime is already many things to many people. At the moment, it is cracking down on the powerful Communist Party in workmanlike fashion, showing a realistic approach to power politics which Kassem never demonstrated. Whether the Communists were within an ace of taking over, as the new leaders proclaim, is uncertain. They came close to seizing power last July, and Aref is taking no chances. In the last fortnight his forces are reported to have rounded up ten to twenty thousand Communists or pro-Communists.

The Neutral Course

Almost the first gesture the new regime made was to proclaim its neutrality, an eminently sensible course for a country such as Iraq, in view of the courtly attitude our government takes toward neutrals. And it has yet to make any overtly anti-Western gesture, which is an improvement over Kassem, who was essentially anti-Western rather than pro-Communist. Like so many Arabs, Kassem burned at what he believed to be a British and American double-cross in the matter of Israel. He believed that Nuri as-Said, the brilliant and staunchly pro-Western Prime Minister whom he overthrew and murdered, was an agent of British imperialism, and attacked him as such.

Iraq's foreign policy is in for one certain drastic revision: it will be less Moscow- and more Cairo-oriented. It was over the question of

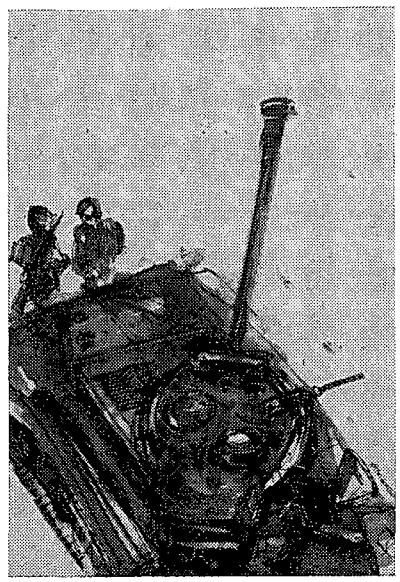
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pan-Arabism, which means in practice Nasser-Arabism, that Kassem and Aref first fell out. Aref, who headed an important Army faction, and the pro-Nasser Ba'ath Party, wanted Kassem, from the start, to throw in his lot with Nasser. This Kassem rejected. He was, in his inept way, an Iraq First man. But he had no political savvy and was never able to build an Iraqi nationalist party. Throughout his troubled four-and-a-half-year reign, the power struggle was between the Nasserites and the Communists with the latter more and more in the ascendant.

Whether President Aref and his followers will differ essentially from Kassem when "Arab unity" progresses from the realm of emotional speculation to such matters as federation and the sharing of oil royalties is doubtful. The truth is: all Arab leaders want to lead all Arabs. Kassem was more interested in hanging on to his own oil royalties, and making a bid for Kuwait's as well, than in becoming a vassal in a Nasserite empire, and Aref will, in all probability, take the same tack.

But there will be a rapprochement with Cairo and that, of course, could mean trouble, big trouble, for Israel. Except that Nasser is at the moment deeply involved in the Yemen revolution, and Colonel Aref and his men have inherited a host of troubles in their own backyard.

Kassem was almost devoid of workaday political talents and instincts and so was his government.* Initially, he had the looks, dramatic flavor and personal sex-appeal to elicit popular support by the direct demagogic approach, but he was never in a league with Nasser in the projection of a warm and magnetic image. Besides, Nasser had "got thar fustest" with all the popular slogans. Kassem tended to concentrate his attention on the Army, which he knew and needed, and left the manipulation of the masses more and more to the experts, in this case the Communists. He scornfully rejected the title of Prime Minister with the remark: "Any dog can be Prime Minister," and preferred to be called *az-zaim*,



the Leader, or, for formal occasions, His Excellency the Faithful Leader.

At the time Kassem took over, the Development Board, an important branch of Nuri's government, had been putting the lion's share of the oil royalties into long-term development projects such as irrigation and drainage facilities. This was beginning to pay off. Baghdad saw a modest building boom in the mid-fifties. But the people were impatient for immediate benefits, specifically for land reform and relief from sometimes inescapable debts. For the *sarifa*-dwellers squatting in their mud huts in and around Baghdad, with one foot in the twentieth century and the other in the third millenium B.C., Kassem's help tended to come in the form of unsubtle frontal attacks—decrees slashing prices, increasing wages or delivering unexpected bonuses: tactics which resulted in shortages, black markets and a further flight of capital.

Revenues and Revolt

Neither Kassem nor Dr. Kubba, his Communist Minister of Economics, pushed their anti-imperialism so far as to interfere to any serious extent with the Iraq petroleum industry. They had no desire to repeat the disaster which Dr. Mossadegh had brought upon neighboring Iran, and always stopped their harassment just short of killing the golden goose. It was the oil revenues alone which prevented Kassem from bringing the Iraqi economy to a grinding stop. What his blustering anti-Western, anti-capitalist statements and actions did was to scare out private investment.

He did follow through on some of the blueprints of the Development Board and may, eventually, be remembered for Baghdad's straight new streets and the Army canal which has opened lands east of the city for residential development. But by and large, he left the Iraqi economy in a shambles and Aref will need a financial wizard to straighten out the mess, plus the kind of iron control over the country that will enable him to resist taking the inflationary economic short cuts which dictators in underdeveloped nations so often resort to.

Here again, Aref inherits a troubled legacy from Kassem, whose first gesture in July 1958 was to open wide the prisons and invite home exiled Iraqis of all persuasions. Among the returnees was Mullah Mustafa Barzani, the leader of the present Kurdish rebellion and a long time resident of the USSR. Barzani's entourage included 450 armed Kurdish tribesmen, their Soviet wives and Soviet-born children. Within two years, Iraq was no longer large enough for both Kassem and Barzani. Barzani's Kurdish tribesmen moved into revolt with the tacit, if not open, approval of the Soviet Union—a revolt with grave strategic ramifications, since both Turkey and Iran, firm allies of the West, have large Kurdish minorities. An independent Kurdistan under Barzani, who is a shrewd and ruthless professional revolutionary whether he is a Communist or not, would play hob with whatever defenses the Kennedy Administration may contemplate leaving in that area. This is now Aref's problem, since no Iraqi leader can stand by and watch the dismemberment of his country and expect to survive.

In the first few weeks of his regime, Colonel Aref has demonstrated considerably more acumen than Kassem did in four and a half years, and he'll need every bit he has—and luck besides. What with the chaotic economic situation, the internal Communist threat and the Kurdish rebellion, Aref may well find himself too busy for the kind of Middle-Eastern mischief-making at which Colonel Nasser excels. It's far too early to tell.

*His Orwellian-named Ministry of Guidance, for instance, whose job it was to keep tabs on foreigners, was so ingenuous in the execution of the task that my own friendly neighborhood phone-tapper once instructed me to "speak up, please."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britain's Scandalous Spy Case

"Investigation!" the sensationalist press cried. Now the press writhes as the Vassall Inquiry turns up another kind of indecency.

COLM BROGAN

Once every few years the dullness of the British scene is lightened by a Judicial Inquiry. This legal device is quite a modern invention and there are many who greatly wish that it had never been thought of.

A Judicial Inquiry is set up when a scandal breaks affecting some Minister, some department of state or the operation of the law. On such occasions, multi-tongued Rumor has a field day, and the purpose of the Inquiry is to establish what truth may be in the gossip and to clear the air, so far as possible.

More often than not, the Inquiry does much more damage than it remedies. This is hardly surprising, for the principle of the Inquiry is flatly contrary to the fundamental principle of British justice, which is accusatory and not inquisitorial. When a man is charged, he is brought before the court on indictment, and nothing must be raised in court which is not contained in the indictment or in the plea of the defense. This means that the verdict is a clear finding on a clearly defined issue.

The Judicial Inquiry operates on the French inquisitorial principle. Evidence can be summoned by the presiding judge and evidence can be offered by anyone who feels the impulse to add to the general rich confusion. Damaging accusations can be and are made and then dropped again without being pursued; with the result that perfectly innocent men may find themselves with a question mark if not a stain on their characters. Conversely, not so innocent men may escape.

There is one thing that can be said about all these Inquiries. They never turn out as those who sponsor them expect. The Vassall Inquiry is true to traditional form.

John Vassall is a small, dim, middle-class type who worked in a junior post in the Admiralty. He spent some time in the British Embassy in Moscow where he made a suspicious number of Russian friends. Playing their own version of the badger game, the Russians got him drunk at a party and then photographed him in what are demurely called "compromising circumstances." After that, he was safely in the net.

"*Auntie*"

As the British Embassy is as self-enclosed a colony as the smallest uphill station in Imperial India, it is astonishing that nobody latched on to Vassall and reported on his behavior. It is even more astonishing that nobody asked questions about his way of life after he returned to England. He lived at a level at least four times higher than his salary could have paid for. He was quite ostentatious about it. The rent of his flat in Dolphin Square absorbed nearly all his salary after tax, and he had it furnished with antiques. He took Continental holidays and was a member of the Bath Club, by no means a suitable haunt for junior clerks. He was so obviously effeminate that he was known among his equals at the Admiralty as "Auntie."

When he was finally arrested and sentenced to eighteen years, there was an explosion that was a mixture of anger and bewilderment. How could such an obvious security risk have escaped detection for so long? The inference was quickly drawn that there must be some homosexual of rank and influence within the Admiralty who took care of his own.

It was here that the whole business took an ugly turn. The *Sunday Pictorial*, a tabloid with an immense circulation, paid Vassall £6,500 for his own story and, apparently, for access to his domestic effects. Among these effects, the *Pictorial* found some letters from Thomas Galbraith who had been Civil Lord of the Admiralty and at one time Vassall's immediate political superior.

These letters were mentioned in Parliament as indication of an undue familiarity between Galbraith and his insignificant subordinate. At once the avid gossipmongers got to work. It was said that Galbraith was Vassall's homosexual partner and that the pair had planned to meet in Italy and do a double-turn disappearance behind the Iron Curtain, like Burgess and Maclean.

To anyone who knew the upright, God-fearing Scottish Protestant Galbraith family the charge of homosexuality was not merely incredible; it was quite preposterous. But those who did know the family were only a tiny fraction of those who read the newspapers and listened to malevo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lent tongues. It was the stench from vicious slander that drove the Prime Minister, in honest anger, to set up the Judicial Inquiry. But the damage had been done. Tom Galbraith resigned from the Government and later announced that he would not stand again for Parliament.

What was the extent of Galbraith's indiscretion? Very little indeed. He wrote a few friendly letters to a young man painfully anxious for friendship. He gave him a parting present when he left the Admiralty, but he also gave presents to others of his staff. When Vassall brought dispatch boxes to the Galbraith estate of Barskimming (where Robert Burns used to roam), he was given breakfast, coming off the night train, and was sometimes invited to stay for lunch.

There were two things about this tinpot imaginary scandal that the public did not understand. The first is that Vassall is an insinuator. He has the deferential manners of a butler, and on the witness stand he showed a command of English appropriate to that station. He made himself eagerly helpful to the Civil Lord in many little ways beyond the scope of duty. He was a name-dropper, anxious to claim acquaintance with those he regarded as among the great. He volunteered to carry the dispatch boxes to Barskimming, even though it meant paying for his sleeper out of his own pocket. He was the kind of attentive young fellow who must be tolerated or else brushed off in a wounding and humiliating manner. In court he professed a humble admiration for Tom Galbraith, like a romantic schoolboy's for a favorite schoolmaster. The whole absurd Galbraith business was only a storm in a teacup, but the teacup was deep enough to drown an unfortunate man.

The other thing that was not understood was the atmosphere of the Admiralty. The man in the street has the vague idea that the Admiralty is staffed with keen-eyed, tight-lipped sea dogs who would not give you the time of day without a security clearance. In fact, the Silent Service (home-based) is exceedingly loquacious in its hours of relaxation, and for admirals with no ships to command the hours of relaxation are numerous. In the rather startlingly informal atmosphere of the Admiralty, Tom Galbraith's tepidly avuncular interest in Vassall would rouse no comment at all. This, of course, was no excuse for the intolerable laxity of Admiralty security, but the Tribunal of Inquiry thus far has got nowhere near finding out who was to blame and why.

I have said that these Tribunals never turn out as their sponsors expected. It was the popular press which howled for an Inquiry and it was the popular press which found itself morally in the dock.

One reporter after another appeared on parade and refused to disclose the sources of his information. The public could well understand this, and was prepared to respect a man who would go to jail rather than betray a professional confidence, but the dark suspicion rapidly grew that some of the reporters refused to disclose their sources because they had no sources to disclose. In a previous and much more important spy case, the police raided the house of a spy called Kroger and came out with a roll of film. Referring to this case and trying to suggest some connection with Vassall, a reporter said there had been other rolls. Asked to justify this statement, he said that where there was one roll of film there must surely have been more.

Another said that Vassall, who frequented the bar of the Bath Club, stood drinks to the highest in the land. Asked for his proof, he said that he had spoken to the Bath Club porter and concluded that either Vassall never stood anybody a drink or else that he was standing drinks to the highest in the land. *Q.E.D.* It turned out that Vassall occasionally stood drinks to some of the lowest in the Bath Club, if not exactly in the land, but how was a hall porter to know that?

Another was called upon to explain why he had said that Vassall and Galbraith were on friendly terms. He said he thought he had heard it from Galbraith's housekeeper. When told that the housekeeper had flatly denied this on oath, he answered with noble simplicity, "I don't know about that."

The Higher Thought

Do these chaps know about anything? We had the spectacle of the assistant editor of the *Daily Sketch* flatly contradicting his own allegedly expert journalist on the witness stand. This same assistant editor gave a superb example of the Higher Thought. He admitted that he had considered the possibility of a homosexual relationship between Vassall and Galbraith. It was known that Vassall had a return ticket to Italy in his possession when he was arrested. It was also known that Tom Galbraith was on holiday in Italy. Therefore it was plausible to suspect that the pair had planned to do a bunk together. None of this appeared in print, but a *Sketch* man who dined with an M.P., a contemporary at Oxford, put forward the suggestion as one he did not believe at all, but still as one which was being widely discussed. The M.P. passed the story on to the Chief Whip, who passed it on to the Prime Minister. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*

I have met quite ordinary business and professional men who, at the start of the affair, had felt deeply uneasy at what they felt to be the incompetence of Admiralty security. Their uneasiness has now been transferred to the conduct of the popular press. Are the fearless disclosures they had supposed to be based on highly secret inside information based on nothing more substantial than unsubstantiated gossip and plain guesswork, sometimes intelligent and sometimes entirely wild, but guesswork all the same?

Alas, the answer is Yes. While the Vassall Inquiry was rolling along, causing grey-faced editors to bite their fingernails as their ace performers attempted to justify their "think piece" disclosures on the witness stand, one national newspaper printed a story about the French

(Continued on p. 210)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

World Government: Last Refuge of Liberalism

As one observes the continuing series of decisions that shape our foreign policy, the question inevitably arises: what is the purpose, the goal, the end, towards which those who make these decisions think they are moving?

Meyer

We have seen the enfeeblement of our manned air power by the quashing of the RS-70 and Skybolt; the withdrawal of our advanced missiles from Turkey and Italy; the decision to phase the B-47 out of Europe; the hammer blows calculated to bring to power neutralist forces in France, England and Canada; the support given to every anti-Western force in Africa, from the shore of the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope; to say nothing of our continued toleration, in flagrant repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine, of an armed and hostile Communist base in the Caribbean—or of the continuing cozy correspondence between Kennedy and Khrushchev.

What do the men who perpetrate these policies think they are doing? In the light of the sworn and dedicated, openly expressed and confirmed, Communist determination to conquer the world, what other alternative than the apocalyptic choice the Communists insist upon—victory or defeat—do they foresee in the still hours of the night when all men with power, even Liberals, come face to face with ultimate responsibility?

These men are not Communists, nor are they Communist-sympathizers. They cannot and do not accept Communist control of the world; but they will not and they do not take the patently necessary steps to bring about the defeat of Communism.

Nor is this inconsequence a peculiar stigma of the Kennedy Administration. The same question must be raised about those who stood by when half of Europe and all of China were swallowed up by Communism while we held a monopoly of nuclear weapons; who halted our victorious armies on the Yalu; who proclaimed the principle that "war is unthinkable" when the Communists think of nothing day and night but war in one form or another; who gave Khrushchev a triumphal tour of the United States, who stopped the U-2 flights, who let the Hungarian people bleed to death. This is not a Kennedy disease, nor is it a Democratic disease; it is a disease of Liberalism, Democratic or Republican.

Push any argument with a Liberal about world politics to fundamentals, and you will find the assumption that enables him to ignore reality. The Liberal mind, abhorring the prospect of a Communist world, but shrinking from the hard necessity—the only real alternative to that prospect—of girding ourselves for the defeat of Communism, takes refuge in the concept of World Government. Like a child hiding behind its mother's skirts, it finds its comfort in the concept of a mechanism (Heaven knows who will control it, or what god-like creatures will justly administer it) that will abolish all tension and remove all responsibility from our shoulders, while everyone lives happily ever after in peace and prosperity. This is the myth that emerges as final solution to all problems, as much from the tough-minded analysis of Herman Kahn (*On Thermonuclear War*) or the Modern Republicanism of Nelson Rockefeller (*The Future of Federalism*), as from the ideological Liberalism of William Fulbright (speeches, *passim*).

Most of the time—as with so many of the articles of the Liberal credo—the virtues of World Government are simply taken for granted as self-evident. If any doubt is expressed, it is only about the possibility of achieving this end "in time," never about its desirability. Kahn is typical of a whole school of "realistic" analysts of modern warfare, as Fulbright with his scorn for American sovereignty is typical of Liberal ideologists. They neglect not only the chasm which separates Western civilization from Communist neo-barbarism, but also the profoundly different moral concepts that underlie Western, as distinguished from Indian or Chinese or Islamic, civilization, or from African pre-civilization—to say nothing of the lesser but still profound differences of *ethos* that separate one nation from another within the West, most particularly those that separate the American constitutional doctrine of limited government from European doctrine and experience.

It is easy to understand why such slipshod thinking prevails. Emotionally, World Government is the *deus ex machina* that saves the Liberal from the harsh reality of Communism. Intellectually also, unity, uniformity, hatred of diversity are the unexamined premises of men who have turned the verb "discriminate," once a hallmark of civilized thought, into a swear word.

So viscerally indeed, so uncritically, are these beliefs held that when an effort is made to argue the case for World Government, rather than just assume it, the arguments presented suffer from elementary historical and political confusions. An example is Nelson Rockefeller's *The Future of Federalism,* mentioned above, which projects the necessity and desirability of World Government by analogy with the necessity and desirability of the unification of the thirteen American Colonies. Blindly he ignores the common origin, historical tradition, political experience, and moral outlook which laid the basis for our federal union, in order to make of the success of that union a moral mandate for world federalism.

The contemporary myth of World Government remains what it has been since Franklin Roosevelt created the United Nations—the last refuge of men unwilling to face the reality of messianic Communism, unwilling to accept their moral responsibility to beat it down.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Wealthy American Bum

"You look like a gangster in that black hat!" The drunken rich cosmopolite in Mam's Bar screeched this reproach at your servant, and then turned to insulting my companion. "Look at your eyes! Look at your eyes!" The drunken man's own eyes shone with madness.

Kirk

These lines are written in Palma de Mallorca, one of the chief centers nowadays for the debauched and depraved of the idle rich, including Americans. To the mind of your servant, a Tory Bohemian, these gentry are a sorry crew, unutterably bored. Mimi died of consumption in the last century; and the twentieth-century pseudo-Bohemian, who can neither paint nor write, lives by clipping coupons or by foundation grants. Even sexual indulgence, in any normal sense, wearies these poor creatures. The children of one such couple, on being informed that comparatively conventional friends of mine (who *can* write and paint) were coming to dinner, murmured in some relief, "Then, Daddy, you and Mommy won't take off your clothes?" It is the usual practice of this charming couple and their guests to strip to the buff for parties. Liberal emancipation, you understand.

Irresponsible Patronage

Often the prosperous pseudo-Bohemian fancies himself as a patron of the poor and of "minorities"—but such patronage takes nasty turns. One American benefactor of this cut, in Palma, supplied a Negro with all he desired, including unlimited supplies of narcotics—and dropped him after the novelty of watching the Negro's antics had palled.

Even less malignant charity sometimes is as irresponsible. I met in Italy a compatriot who spent all his time wandering from grand hotel to grand hotel, across the world, always tipsy and facetious. He thought he knew two words of Italian, though actually they were Spanish: "busco" and "burro." Bus drivers were startled when he shouted at them, from the corner, "I seek!" (which he believed to be the word for bus); while cabbies were perplexed when he demanded butter—under the impression that "burro" meant individual transportation.

This Wandering Gentile abruptly determined to seek out some Italian child of poor parents, send him to America, and pay for his education all the way through school and college. He was vexed when a priest informed him that such a course—unless he meant to adopt the child and be a full-time foster father—would be infinitely harmful to any child. The would-be benefactor entertained no notion of assuming personal responsibility for a human being, aside from a monetary largess, for that might interfere with his days and nights at the hotel bars.

Wealth, or even a comfortable competence, necessarily entails duties: at the very least, the responsibility of looking after the money. No class falls from wealth and power except through its own folly and failure of nerve. Thus the affluent American bum works his own extinction, or the ruin of his class, in fairly short order. He will not endure one-tenth so long as did the Romans of the decadence, in whose powerful if debauched faces one still can read fierce though neglected talent. Where the Roman debauchee was terrible, his American counterpart is only silly.

It is possible to be sodden with work, as well as pleasure. What the rich American tends to lack is an understanding of true leisure. The English aristocracy never have become altogether decadent, and even today retain considerable influence and energy, because they have understood how to employ leisure. Matthew Arnold's "Barbarians," the landed classes of Victorian England, loved good architecture, splendid parks and gardens, and decent books. Their very field sports were healthy and well suited to a class born to rule.

But the bored American rich whom one encounters in the luxury hotels of several continents are another breed. Far from being arbiters of architectural taste, they patronize hotels that are hideous blobs of concrete and glass. They read, when they read at all, trash specially calculated to fill the slums of the mind. And their sports are the diversions of drink and sex, both in their drearier forms. Flashy cars and motorboats furnish their only exercise. They would no more think of gardening than of soldiering.

Rich or Affluent?

Still, perhaps they do less mischief than some of the sentimental rich who—retaining a vague sense of duty, or at least suffering from guilt complexes—lavish their funds upon snady or absurd radical causes, or pour millions into foundation boondoggles that support the intellectual charlatan and the power-hungry positivistic innovator.

Though I have called these muddled idlers rich or wealthy, it would be more accurate to say that most of them simply are affluent. Probably one of their troubles is that they are not rich enough, and have not acquired an understanding of the uses of wealth through long family possession. Tocqueville remarks that it is better for a nation to have a few great fortunes, rather than a multitude of tidy surpluses. For the genuinely rich can do great things, in building, in founding educational and charitable institutions, in patronage of the arts; while modest fortunes allow their possessors only the indulgence of consumer appetites.

Anyway, give me the simple old-fangled Bohemian in his garret. Nine times out of ten, he was incompetent in the business of life; but his very poverty prevented him from sinking into real decadence—which is the loss of an object in life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To Mend the Tragic Flaw

L. BRENT BOZELL

". . . something in me wondered," James Baldwin reflected in the celebrated *New Yorker* piece, whether "the intransigence and ignorance of the white man might make that vengeance inevitable . . . historical vengeance, a cosmic vengeance, based on the law that we recognize when we say, 'Whatever goes up must come down.' . . . The only thing white people have that black people need, or should want, is power . . ."

"And I cherish the . . . idea," writes James Jackson Kilpatrick, "that a really massive, significant change in race relations will not come until the Negro people develop leaders who will ask themselves the familiar question, 'Why are we treated as second-class citizens?' and return a candid answer to it: 'Because all too often that is what we are.' . . . When the Negro race proves itself, in terms of Western values of maturity and achievement, it will be time enough to talk of complete social and economic integration . . . The Negro says he's the white man's equal; *show me.*"

I suspect most of us have felt all along it would probably come to this; for these are more than polar positions, they are declarations of war, and a people does not go about planting the seeds of war as assiduously as our people has done on the race matter in recent years without some presentiment of harvest. Still, on the happier view, we perhaps should welcome this eruption of the rock issues. It may bestir, while there is yet time, a breed curiously languishing at the moment, although its continued presence among us is assured by the sperm of our national genius: I mean, in the most demanding sense of that role, the peacemakers.

The Southern Case for School Segregation, by James Jackson Kilpatrick. Crowell-Collier, $3.95

Kilpatrick has not written his book as a peacemaker. The conclusions to which he thinks the South's case points are battle lines; they are, moreover, battle lines from which the South is not likely to be dislodged for a long time to come. Like a General Lee pointing out the facts of life to a headstrong cavalry commander, this enormously talented Richmond editor counsels that the spirit of defiance be tempered by an acknowledgment of realities. The South has experienced merely a "judicial Gettysburg"? Let us have none of that: "as a matter of law, the war [against desegregation] *is* over." A constitutional amendment? Remedial action by Congress? A court reversal? "There is now not the slightest possibility" any of these things will happen. Therefore the South—all of it—must accept the prospect of desegregated schools, and make its way as best it can with schemes like Virginia's plan for allowing pupils to choose between desegregated public schools and segregated private ones.

BUT TO concede *that* war is lost is to say nothing at all about what will happen in the other war—the real war—*the war over whether the Negro is to be received into the white community, in spirit and in fact, in areas beyond the reach of the law, as an equal.* "A court can impose a legal condition of desegregation and thus put an end to segregation," Kilpatrick writes in a passage that slices to the heart of the matter, "but a court cannot enjoin separation [in community living] and thus achieve integration." What, then, is to become of the Negro? Well, that will depend on the Negro himself; he must, "*by his own exertions* . . . find an equal place in the sun." And the white man, if I read Kilpatrick correctly, is not any longer—not after all that has happened—prepared to help.

The Supreme Court has "cast off the Negro's shackles"? All right; but by the same token it "cast off [the] crutches" the Southern white community has willingly provided in the past. From now on white leaders will take seats in the grandstand—a "retreat to neutrality," Kilpatrick calls it—and see what the Negro can do for himself in his battle against nature and the socio-political structure into which he was born. The Negro wants equality? Let him earn it. You would like "power," Brother Baldwin? Come and get it if you can.

THIS IS NOT a stance that the peacemakers can approve. The Negro and his formidable ideological champions must pick up that kind of gauntlet, and because it is hurled down from a defensive position naturally powerful in its own right, the struggle will grow in bitterness and hurt and wreckage.

Yet no peacemaker can, for that reason, fail to learn from Mr. Kilpatrick's book. On the contrary, excepting its essentially anarchistic prescription for the future, *The Southern Case for School Segregation* may be read as a peacemaker's manual—indeed the most instructive that has been brought forth by either side since the *Brown* case, and one the integrationist side will fail to match at the peril of calling into question its own devotion to the common good. What, after all, may we ask of the peacemaker—the man who understands that each side possesses a large element of "right"; that therefore neither ought to "win" in the sense of achieving all of its goals at the expense of all those sought by the other; that the future must move

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from compromise to compromise until there is finally a meeting of hearts under the rubric of the common good?

I should think that if he 1) helped promote a viable discussion process under which obviously open questions would be treated as open, and each side, while advancing its own views, would be prepared to listen to the other's; 2) encouraged a hard-headed appreciation by each side of the existential situation—the going traditions, institutions, laws, the "historical forces"—with which any orderly solution must, in some degree, come to terms; and 3) tried to prod all concerned, just in the direction of that all but hopelessly elusive virtue—Christian Love, with its psychological fruit, empathy—he will have done all that can be done at the moment.

Take the first. Kilpatrick acknowledges without blinking that the root cause of the war is the South's belief that the Negro race is innately inferior to the white race, and proceeds to *discuss* that proposition. The arguments and documentation he adduces for the South's view—the Negro's observable performance in Southern community life, his bleak historical record as a civilization-builder, the crime and illegitimacy rates that do not seem to change with improved environment—are, however, less important than the scheme of the dialectic. Such factors, Kilpatrick believes, add up only to a presumption in favor of the South's view, and after a fair-minded canvass of the literature on the other side (actually there is very little of it that goes to the substance of the question) he concludes that the presumption has not yet been rebutted.

Does this mean Northerners should accept the South's view? Not at all: "we are resentful that they will not even look at [the case], or hear of it, or inquire into it. . . . They set out not to seek truth, but 'to combat racial prejudice.' " And the same goes for the "intemperate" segregationists: they should acknowledge "that the question of the Negro's innate inferiority has not been proved and hence is still open." This is not the tone of bigotry, but a denunciation of it, an invitation to discuss. . . . Must the equalitarians *necessarily* fling back dogma into his teeth? Might not Thurgood Marshall, for example, who is the intellectual and cultural superior of 99 per cent of the white race and thus encumbered with considerable *noblesse oblige,* agree to join Kilpatrick at Cambridge, Mass., say, or, better, at Oxford, Miss., to discuss racial differences and the problems they raise?

Take an example of the second. Kilpatrick devotes half of his book to "the law" of school segregation, a subject with which he can deal on equal terms with the best constitutional lawyers in the country. A review of the court cases and the history of the framing of the Fourteenth Amendment ("in constitutional cases, clocks must always be turned back") furnishes an unanswerable indictment of the Warren Court's decision in the *Brown* case; and the question Kilpatrick implicitly raises is, How can the integrationist side ask for peace in the name of respect for the law when, for its part, it so brazenly refuses to play by the rules of the constitutional game? Unconstitutional judicial ukases can produce "solutions"—for instance, James Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi—but not peaceful solutions. The Negro can force his way into the white man's house by breaking down its walls, but he will have destroyed thereby the white man's capacity for hospitality, and thus his own dream of true integration. This is surely a case of an ability to win all of the battles, but never the war.

And the third: Kilpatrick recognizes, and takes, that first indispensable step toward a meeting of hearts —a candid acknowledgment of one's own shortcomings. Kilpatrick has no patience with "the patent absurdities of 'Jim Crow'." Again: "the South [should have] devoted one tenth of the effort toward keeping schools equal that it devoted toward keeping them separate. . . ." And yet . . . "the white South emphatically refuses to accept all the wrongs as her own . . . slavery and segregation have descended upon the South like pregnancy upon a woman whose lover has ridden away. The New England slavemasters had their fun, and made their dreadful profits . . . and they left the South to raise an alien child . . . it was a willing union . . . not rape, not seduction. . . . But when the assignation ended, the South had all the problems, and the North had all the answers."

KILPATRICK is not asking for pity, or even, particularly, for understanding. He is inviting again—a suggestion that integrationist peacemakers meet him halfway. And if he is turned down, we should not be too severe on the white South if, in fact, it refuses that affirmative act of love Kilpatrick's book would withhold—the steadying hand that will allow the Negro to reach down for those bootstraps without tumbling over.

Capitalism Without Horns

HENRY HAZLITT

FOR NEARLY three generations the economic and business histories of England and America have been written by anti-capitalist zealots. Our accounts of the Industrial Revolution and its sequel have come down to us from Marx and Engels, the Webbs and the Hammonds. They present a picture of labor exploitation, of increasing poverty and misery, of women and children working under appalling conditions in mines and factories. Our accounts of American business since the Civil War have come from the muckraking works of Ida Tarbell and Gustavus Myers, popularized and summarized in Matthew Josephson's *The Robber Barons.*

***The Enterprising Americans: A Business History of the United States,* by John Chamberlain. Harper, $5.95**

We have had to wait until the last two decades for a more balanced view. In *Capitalism and the Historians* (1954), F. A. Hayek, T. S. Ashton, and W. H. Hutt pointed out that though conditions in the Industrial Revolution were deplorable in the light of our present working and living standards, it was precisely the Industrial Revolution that made our present working and living standards possible. It was a period of unprecedented expansion, of rising wages and falling prices, of increased longevity and startling increase of pop-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ulation, of rising living standards and the beginnings of production for, and consumption by, the masses. But the historians were so preoccupied by the growing pains that they overlooked the growth.

And so the history of American business, in turn, came to be written in terms of the robber barons and the Gilded Age, the Jay Goulds and the Jim Fisks. Where once Americans had spoken proudly of the conquest of a continent, their historians began talking of the plunder of a continent —of pillaged forests, ravished prairies and a people despoiled of its heritage. Charles and Mary Beard, in their *Rise of American Civilization,* drew up a bitter indictment of American business enterprise after the Civil War. But then, in a brief afterthought, they mentioned a few statistics which revealed the astounding national growth and material well-being of the period. Between 1860 and 1900 our population grew from 31 million to 76 million, a growth "unprecedented in Western history." Our national wealth, said the Beards, was only one third that of Great Britain in the year of Daniel Webster's death. Half a century later our wealth was one and a quarter times that of Great Britain. In half a century it had grown fivefold.

In 1939, Simeon Strunsky, in *The Living Tradition,* protested against this strange habit of spreading the evil wrought by the titans of the Gilded Age all over the narrative, and then interring the good in a few parentheses and afterthoughts. He pleaded for a history that would emphasize the almost incredible creative achievement of American business: "We must think of millions of small businessmen going about their affairs with average honesty and decency while the super-bravos of Big Business fought their billion dollar battles for control."

AND NOW, at last, John Chamberlain has given us just such a history. He does not omit the Goulds and the Fisks, the Rockefellers and the Morgans, the Astors and the Vanderbilts, but he gives us a more balanced picture of some of them than we have been getting, and he throws his emphasis on the inspired innovators and inventors—on Eli Whitney, Robert Fulton, Charles Goodyear, Alexander Graham Bell, Henry Ford, Thomas Edison and a hundred others.

Indeed, his book sometimes reads like a history of American invention. And what it incidentally illustrates is the real difficulty of separating the inventors from the entrepreneurs. Both were innovators; both were cost-reducers; both were risk takers; both were egged on by mutual competition; both were often combined in the same person.

There was the "breathless generation" of the 1830's and the 1840's, which gave us the mechanical harvester, the Colt revolver, the beginnings of mass production of interchangeable parts, the sewing machine, the Morse telegraph, vulcanized rubber. As we advance in the chronicle, the speed of invention, innovation, construction, investment, becomes accelerative. The post-Civil War period was marked by the dramatic expansion of the railroads, which led the economy, as it was later to be led by the steel industry, then by oil, then by the motor car, and now by a bewildering variety of industries from chemistry to electronics.

John Chamberlain: ***"emphasis . . . not on the few looters, but on the many creators."***

As John Chamberlain tells this story, the pace of his own narrative quickens, and in the final chapter, "The Modern World of Enterprise," with so much to be packed in, it moves *prestissimo.*

One begins to wonder, in fact, how any single mind will be able to keep up with this dizzy pace of industrial progress. But Mr. Chamberlain maintains a beautiful balance in his account of personalities, of innovation and invention, of "trusts" and competition, of business organization, profit and loss, depression and inflation. And the emphasis, always, is where it should be: not on the occasional skulduggery, but on the constant achievement; not on the few looters, but on the many creators.

The necessity of keeping the chronicle concrete and vivid by concentrating on the principal or most colorful figures will no doubt sometimes lead the careless reader into a false perspective — into overlooking "the millions of small businessmen going about their affairs." One could wish that Mr. Chamberlain had done more often what he does, for example, on page 166, when he stops in his account of the formation of the "trusts" by the Morgans and Rockefellers to remind us that in the span of years from 1865 to 1890 money wages rose by nearly two-thirds and real wages even more; that savings bank assets rose from $243 million in 1865 to $2 billion in 1897; and that the number of business firms, in spite of mergers, rose from 750,000 in 1880 to 1,100,000 in 1890, and are still proliferating. But those who want the statistical picture, or a more abstract account of economic forces, can get it from the works of Harold Faulkner, Louis Hacker and Thomas Cochran.

We are at last beginning to build a literature on the real history and achievement of American capitalism. And John Chamberlain has made a brilliant contribution to it.

Spring Book Number

The March 26 issue will be a special book number, including reviews by:

Wilhelm Roepke, on *The Keynesian System* by David McCord Wright

James Jackson Kilpatrick, on *The Deadlock of Democracy* by James MacGregor Burns

Anthony Lejeune, on *To Katanga and Back* by Conor Cruise O'Brien

Also reviews and comment by Willmoore Kendall, Theodore Sturgeon, Robert Drake

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ghost stories and a suspense novel by

RUSSELL KIRK

THE SURLY SULLEN BELL

Ten tales, uncanny and uncomfortable, with a note on the Ghostly Tale, by Russell Kirk, wizard of Mecosta.

"The Surly Sullen Bell is a top-drawer collection." August Derleth, *Books of the Times.* "Good ghost stories in our science-fiction age are scarcer than hen's teeth. Dr. Kirk's new collection of ghostly tales in the Surly Sullen Bell has a select audience waiting for it." John Barkham, *Philadelphia Bulletin.* $4.50

OLD HOUSE OF FEAR

The eerie, suspense novel described by *Time* as a "political morality play" is just plain exciting. Old House of Fear is still selling well all across the country. $3.95

Kirk's brilliant cosmopolitan exposure evidenced in his 5-times-per-week newspaper column TO THE POINT, syndicated by General Features Corporation, is gaining wide acceptance throughout the nation. One important newspaper editor commented, "We have decided that Russell Kirk is the most responsible conservative now writing a **daily** newspaper column."

Those who have followed Russell Kirk's work in recent years realize that he is one of the literary greats of our time and we are not surprised that his newspaper column is being so enthusiastically received.

THE ABOVE BOOKS ARE AVAILABLE AT ALL BOOKSTORES.

FLEET PUBLISHING CORP.
230 PARK AVE., NEW YORK 17

The Passing Scene

Tour of the *Times Book Review*

BRETT DANIELS

On November 18, 1962, in his "Speaking of Books" column, J. Donald Adams published a self-congratulatory article on the quality of writing in the *New York Times Book Review*. Smugness was added to what had been merely sloppiness of style, triviality and commercialism.

How does the *Times* reviewer, for example, evoke Sublimity?

> Bangkok . . . is a wonderland surpassing anything Walt Disney has imagined. (Sept. 16, p. 16)

But sometimes, transcending the inappropriate, the *Times* stylist verges upon the unintelligible:

> The title story of *The Toys of Princes* is about two mechanical dolls, ingeniously created in the image of the past loves of two German monarchs and cruelly furnished with the skin of political enemies, who are taken so seriously by the monarchs that finally an attempt is made by the literal Teuton to assassinate them. (Sept. 16, p. 40)

> Alexander is not against this possibility but does not consider it necessary. (Aug. 12, p. 29)

Or employs pained circumspection:

> The Goncourt brothers (Jules, the younger, born in 1830, died in 1870 of the disease which afflicted many men of letters in an age when hygiene was disregarded and penicillin not invented) were pioneers in the realm of realistic, almost clinical fiction. (Sept. 16, p. 16)

(Goncourt's fatal disease was presumably syphilis, although the reviewer's is clearly logorrhea.)

The *Times* reviewer's gravest stylistic problem is, however, imagery. When he is at a loss for an apt or lively metaphor, he combines a few dead ones, which become striking in their juxtaposition:

> Though they bulk large in this book, the scandals are but the springboard for a study of commercial broadcasting and its compatibility with a healthy, self-respecting society. Were the scandals just a flash in the pan or did they represent "something rotten in Denmark?" As you read on, the author's answer, buttressed by facts and figures and pages of official testimony, becomes even clearer. (Sept. 16, p. 28)

Such imagery provides an exercise in spatial visualization: draw a bulky scandal as a flash in the pan springboard which is the locus of corruption in Denmark. Design a statistically buttressed answer which emerges into clarity.

The *Book Review* is an inexhaustible mine of strange information. Regard the incapacitated event and the attacked calendar month in the following fragments:

> Uncle Julian, a survivor of that grim event, now an invalid . . . (Sept. 23, p. 5)

> Mr. Simonov reveals the senseless slaughter, the insane panic and confusion touched off by Hitler's attack on June 21, 1941. (Oct. 14, p. 5)

Sometimes punctuation problems become truly staggering, a copy-editor's nightmare:

> These forty-four articles written by Karl Marx, apostle of revolutionary socialism for the *New York Daily Tribune* and the *Vienna Presse* dealing with the Civil War, together with the correspondence of Marx and Frederick Engels on the same subject make up a sizeable and curious volume. (Sept. 30, p. 38)

A sizeable and curious sentence too; here is another:

> Few contrasts can be more shattering than that between the self-confident, stable village life of Nigeria, Dahomey, and Ghana that Jahn depicts so vividly and the dislocation, distress and fear that Allard Lowenstein, a young faculty member of Stanford University and former president of the National Student Association and his companions found in West Africa. (Oct. 7, p. 3)

Still unmentioned is the *atmosphere* of the section. Turn, for example, to the page entitled "Queries and Answers," which claims to comprise "Questions of Literary Interest." What are you likely to find there? A discussion of *archy and mehitabel.* Turn to the "In and Out of Books" section, and you will probably find a discussion of the sales figures of *Pogo.* Turn to the so-called Best Seller List (compiled on the basis of unverifiable reports from 41 name-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

less cities) and you will find a coloring book, an essay on the sex life of unmarried women, an autobiography of a baseball manager. Ask what a best seller list has to do with the value of books in the first place, and your answer will be that it suits the rank commercialism which pervades the section from cover to cover.

Look for banality:

> Come to think of it everything is indeed getting bigger and more structured. (Oct. 14, p. 16)

Look for pretentious nonsense:

> The mere idea of mother and father swans is sadder than life. . . . Is it the privilege of lyricism to be that sad? (Sept. 23, p. 46)

> In Granny Tierney's lonely, unloved, dehumanized death in front of the TV set, Moore has shown powerful dimensions of compassion and art which prove to be his major fictional talent. (Oct. 14, p. 14)

Look for first-name dropping, back-slapping insolence:

> If Jenny Lind were alive today, one suspects that a good many listeners would be of Walt's [Whitman, this time, not Disney] opinion. (Aug. 12, p. 10)

Look for sheer philistinism:

> *Love and the Spanish* contains twenty illustrations, mainly works of art. I would gladly dispense with them all for one good map. (Oct. 14, p. 46)

Look, in short, for any critical or stylistic vice, and you will find it in the *Times Book Review*. Dispensing with twenty works of art for one good map sums up the *Times* attitude nicely; except that even the map is bad.

President Wilson's First Lady

HELEN WOODWARD

IT'S A MISTAKE to treat these private love letters as a Victorian bit of lace, with their old-fashioned courtship in which young Woodrow rejoiced because Ellen Axson signed her letters to him not merely "Sincerely yours," but "Sincerely your friend," or when she progressed from "Mr. Wilson" to "Mr. Woodrow" to "My dear friend," or even to wonder at the ardent passion which seeps through. More important is the sheer ability of Ellen Axson Wilson, her wisdom, and her powerful will. The picture of her in the American mind has been that of a gentle, sweet woman, not too intelligent. Gentle she was, and sweet. But her political understanding and strength have been overshadowed by the glittering second Mrs. Wilson.

These letters show Ellen as one of the greatest of our Presidents' wives. In intelligence perhaps only Mrs. John Adams and Mrs. Herbert Hoover rank above her. She was a Southern girl, brought up in the small town of Rome, Georgia, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister. She was trained in the Greek and Latin classics and was free of the gushing supposed to be the mark of a Southern girl.

The letters begin almost as soon as Woodrow, then twenty-six years old, saw her in church in her home town, and continue to the time of her death. When he and she were apart, they wrote each other every day. In view of the popular picture of Wilson as a stern academician it is extraordinary to read how he depended, even leaned, on Ellen, how he sought her advice on all matters.

Wilson is far from the stern, cold man history has considered him. He writes to his Ellie in their early days: "I am fast losing all semblance of a reputation for dignity because of the way I frolic and rejoice in lighthearted nonsense. I should like to repeat poetry all the time—if I knew any to repeat. I am in a fair way to be run away with by this love that has taken possession of me . . ." He

The Priceless Gift: The Love Letters of Woodrow Wilson and Eleanor Axson Wilson, edited by Eleanor Wilson McAdoo. McGraw-Hill, $6.95

Van Nostrand tackles important issues of our time

Freedom—

THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR A FREE SOCIETY

Edited by Felix Morley. 13 contributors view historic problems of freedom from a variety of vantage points: religious, philosophical, economic, military, sociological and political. Discussion includes the extent to which freedom is limited by invariant laws, and the ways in which it can be preserved and promoted. prob. $5.95

How the U.S.S.R. Operates—

THE SOVIET CRUCIBLE: THE SOVIET SYSTEM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, Second Edition

By Samuel Hendel. New second edition features three additional chapters and 21 new articles by leading authorities on the Russian scene, including Philip E. Mosely, Alec Nove, George F. Kennan and Naum Jasny. $10.00

Economics—

THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Edited by Helmut Schoeck and James W. Wiggins. 12 distinguished scholars subject to critical examination all the major arguments favoring enlargement of the public, governmentally controlled sector of the economy, at the expense of private initiative in such fields as education, art, the settlement of labor disputes, etc. prob. $6.00

For quick delivery just fill in and mail this

— FREE EXAMINATION COUPON —

D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.
Dept. T-NR-3-12
120 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Please send me:
——copies of THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR A FREE SOCIETY @ prob. $5.95 each
——copies of THE SOVIET CRUCIBLE: THE SOVIET SYSTEM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, Second Edition @ $10.00 each
——copies of THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR @ prob. $6.00 each

Within ten days I will remit purchase price, plus small delivery cost, or return book(s) and owe nothing.

NAME .....

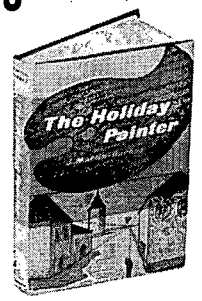
ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE .... STATE .....

SAVE! Remit with order and we pay delivery. Same return privilege guaranteed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAINT AS YOU LEARN—and start framing your work this very spring!



NOW AVAILABLE IN ENGLISH!

Here it is! The fabulous Martin-Barbaz "self-teaching course" that is turning Frenchmen from Paris to Provence into accomplished artists . . . now ready to fill your weekends and holidays with creative joy.

This delightfully simple method lets you set your own pace . . . learn rules the natural way—by painting! You'll marvel at the ease with which lighthouses, bridges, summer friends, city scenes and natural wonders come to life on your canvas. You learn . . .

How to choose your best subjects for still life, landscape, flowers, portraits, nudes, marine and genre paintings.
How to make quick on-the-spot sketches which capture all the elements you need later for finished paintings.
How to master perspective (Nemesis of many amateurs) with three-dimensional line, color, light and shadow.
How to convey mood and motion . . . render trees, mountains, rocks, water, animals, people . . . reflections, rain, mist, stormy skies dawn, twilight, summer night.
Magic touches which breathe life into an otherwise flat painting.
Techniques of brushwork, essuyage and glazing. Knife and finger painting. Various schools of painting—and how to develop your own original style. Tips on canvas sizes, selecting materials, brushes, pigments, MUCH MORE!

"Of very great value to the self-taught painter . . . remarkable and well-arranged."—André Blondeau, Beaux-Arts de la France d'Outre-Mer.

FAST PROGRESS GUARANTEED!
Illustrated **ORDER NOW!**
THE HOLIDAY PAINTER
by J. Martin-Barbaz

You must be delighted with the pleasure and rapid progress you enjoy, or simply return book for full refund. Only $3.95 postpaid.

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 649-M
251 West 19th Street New York 11 N. Y.

can we predict the future ?

—see our ad on page 186

They call themselves "Patriots"
THE EXTREMISTS

WHO THEY ARE, WHAT THEY ARE FIGHTING AND WHERE THEY ARE LEADING THEIR CONFUSED ADHERENTS

by Mark Sherwin

"A well-documented history of the right-wing madness in America."
—*Saturday Review*

"As clear an X-ray of the anatomy of Far Rightism as has been produced."
—*Detroit Free Press*

ST. MARTIN'S $5.00

also wrote to his Ellie of his serious plans for the future. These fit in very well with the popular conception of his personality: "It took me all my college days to learn that it was necessary and profitable to study. I had then, as I have now, an earnest political creed." He has made a solemn covenant with a classmate to "acquire knowledge that we might have power." Obviously from these private letters, he assumed an attitude which he thought necessary for political ambition. He was training himself to play a part, the part he played throughout his political career. No wonder that the public thought of him as stiff and formal, and of rock-like strength.

Yet these letters reveal a loneliness so intense that it was like a weakness. All through them he cries to his wife "I am lonely," "I cannot function without you." In view of this long, passionate love for and his delight in Ellen, it may be surprising that only one year after his wife's death Wilson married again. But Ellen, in her wisdom, would have understood it. When she knew she was dying, she was "not afraid," says Mrs. McAdoo, "only desperately anxious about Woodrow, for she knew his weakness as well as his strength. Strong in his Christian faith, he could endure grief, but not loneliness. He could not live without love. The day before she died Ellen made Dr. Grayson promise to tell him, 'later, when he will listen'—that she wanted him to marry again."

One reviewer of this book comments that this kind of great love is impossible today. In the name of Heaven, what nonsense is this! Great love is always possible, but enduring great love demands that two people must not only love but like and admire each other, and need each other. That is the remarkable quality of the relation between the Wilsons.

The letters contained in this book will not explain why a writer like Arthur Krock considers himself "a Woodrow Wilson type of liberal Democrat" but they can be valuable to historians in leading to a better understanding of Wilson's character and his hesitations on many important measures of his career.

Records

The Sad Story of Mildred Bailey

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

THERE WERE nights years ago when one of the country's oldest undergraduate literary societies, Philolexian by name, took to jazz. A few of us had the records, and there was always a phonograph to be borrowed. Some of the members tended to think of Clyde McCoy's "Sugar Blues" as the real razz-ma-tazz—which it was, but they didn't know what the word meant so they were happy. Those of us who loved jazz insisted on the old Armstrong records, then being rediscovered, or Duke Ellington, or the little pick-up bands which made the middle and late thirties memorable. We were full of arguments as to the nature and meaning of jazz—fervent debates on the merits of white versus Negro style, of the loose New Orleans beat versus the four-four pounding of the big swing bands. Occasionally, we knew what we were talking about.

I remember in particular one session at which the late Eugene Williams and I, just back from a long prowl in Harlem record shops, turned up with a shiny new copy of Mildred Bailey's "More Than You Know." Pressure from the jazz buffs had convinced the record companies that it was a good idea to list personnel on the label. Though we would have recognized the styles of Teddy Wilson, Artie Shaw, Ziggy Elman, and Cozy Cole, it was good to know that Vocalion had bowed to "our" will. The plaintive, reedy, perfectly nuanced voice of Mildred Bailey filled the room, and we knew that this was one of the great ones. (Come on'a my house and you can hear the same copy. It has never been re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TO MEN WHO JUST "CAN'T LEARN" MATH!

More and more in our dynamic economy, a knowledge of basic mathematics pays off!

Whether in Engineering, Electronics, Mechanics, Construction, Pure Science, etc.—or in Estimating, or Trade and Finance, or Buying and Selling, etc.—the man who gets there *fustest* with the *mostest*, MATH-WISE, is likely to be rewarded *handsomest!*

Fortunately, there now exists, in a single volume of 240 fact-packed pages (including 195 clarifying illustrations), a basic source in mathematics, from arithmetic to the calculus, arranged logically and in order of difficulty. Explanations of principles are followed by worked examples.

This one-volume math "library" economizes not only your money but, more important, your *time*. Amazingly, the author, with a rare talent for simplifying the complicated, covers the whole gamut: treatment of fractions, decimals, square root and cube root, logarithms, progression averages, interest, algebra, equations, graphs, plane and solid geometry, trigonometry, differential and integral calculus; useful mathematical tables; summary of mathematical formulas, etc., etc.

This remarkable work which already has aided thousands, will be of enormous help not only to those who have forgotten their mathematics but also to those now acquiring it. You may try it out at our risk. *ORDER NOW:*

A REFRESHER COURSE IN MATHEMATICS
by F. J. Camm
240 Pages • 195 Illustrations
2.95 Postfree • 10-Day Money-Back Guarantee
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 650-M
251 W. 19th Street, New York 11

Don't miss your boat!

. . . or your plane. Don't arrive to find your favorite hotel full. Travel the easy, *modern* way—have everything waiting for you—let Margaret Cone make all your reservations now. Whether you are on business or vacation, you should enjoy yourself. And you *will* if you contact

MARGARET CONE TRAVEL SERVICE
Dept. R-1, 520 Fifth Ave.
New York 36, N.Y.
Tel. OXford 7-0796

Frank S. Meyer's **In Defense of Freedom** clears ground for the conservative movement by confronting ultimate questions with clarity, logic, and conviction.
—Richard M. Weaver

REGNERY

McGUFFEY'S READERS

After a long and costly search, reprints of the original 1879 revised editions of the famous McGuffey's Readers have been completed and you can now purchase exact copies at the following low prices POSTPAID:

1st Reader	$2.50	4th Reader	$3.50
2nd Reader	$2.75	5th Reader	$3.75
3rd Reader	$3.25	6th Reader	$4.25

OLD AUTHOR, Dept. NA-3, Rowan, Iowa

sued.) But then the record had been played, the old argument about Mildred Bailey began. Was she a superlative pop singer ("the greatest, the greatest") or a tremendously talented jazz singer who had gotten under the skin of the Negro idiom and given it her own coloration? Where in a pantheon that included Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday did she belong? We arrived at no answers—and this perhaps was the tragedy of the Bailey career. She was *sui generis*, and so she never made it although in every list of fine singers her name would appear. She knew it, too—even as she knew how good she was—which may account for her pounding tantrums, her compulsive eating, and the love she poured out on human and canine pets.

Mildred Bailey was uncommonly fat at a time when the bands were decorating themselves with sexy "vocalists" whose contribution to music began and ended with their contours. Her sweetness of expression resided in a handsome, asymetrical face, captured perfectly by the photographer Charles Peterson—but her looks were not the kind to diddle adolescents. And with few exceptions, her singing style was not in the usual groove. Mildred Bailey did not push the bands she sang with ahead of her. She was, in fact, one of the very few in jazz who frequently anticipated the beat instead of lagging behind it. When her performance wasn't just right, it had a tendency to sound like the hundred-yard dash. The subtle ear got the point, but there aren't too many of those in the average night club audience. She had a way, too, of giving a slightly abrasive edge to the irrelevant or stupid lyrics that Tin Pan Alley produced, and this can be more than a little disconcerting to those who find truth and beauty in the June-moon school of versifying.

In her lifetime, Mildred Bailey made many records (though not enough good ones) and stood on many bandstands. As a graduate of the overblown Paul Whiteman organization, she introduced to that colossus of bloat a trio which included Al Rinker (her brother) and one Harry Lillis Crosby. In her recordings, she was blessed by the backing of the greatest jazz sidemen—Bunny Berigan, Dick McDonough, Eddie Lang, Chu Berry, Coleman Hawkins, Johnny Hodges, Red Norvo, Mary Lou

2 More Good Books *from* REGNERY

Volumes 6 and 7 in the much-discussed Foundation for Foreign Affairs series

"The front beyond the frontiers"

The German Opposition to Hitler

by HANS ROTHFELS, emeritus professor of modern history, University of Chicago; Head of the Institute for Contemporary History, University of Tuebingen. Translated by LAWRENCE WILSON.

"One of those rare scholarly works which can be read as well as studied. A classic. Places German opposition to Hitler in the broad historical framework of the growing modern revolt against such 19th Century forces as nationalism (leading to international anarchy); liberal capitalism (leading to a mass society with neither roots nor standards); and secularism (undermining morality and human dignity)."
—Klaus Epstein, *Modern Age*

"Best study of anti-Nazi resistance."
—*Manchester Guardian*

"Important contribution to World War II history."
—*The Review of Politics*

(Revised and expanded from 1949 edition)

$4.00

"Toward a wider understanding"

Berlin and the Future of Eastern Europe

Edited by DAVID S. COLLIER, editor of *Modern Age* and KURT GLASER, professor of government, Southern Illinois Univ.

Your own opinions on atomic weaponry; Common Market; Soviet policy; German-Slav reconciliation; and politico-economic objectives, will represent informed judgment when you've read these interesting papers from a meeting of over 70 European and American scholars.

Authors include Wenzel Jaksch, of the German Bundestag; Philip Mosely, Council on Foreign Relations; Stefan Possony, Hoover Institution, Stanford University; Col. William Kintner, University of Pennsylvania; Professor Eugen Lemberg, Herder Institute, Marberg, Germany; Professor Gotthold Rhode, University of Mainz.

$6.00

Henry **REGNERY** *Company*
14 E. Jackson • Chicago 4, Ill.

At your favorite bookseller's or direct from the publishers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Speaking Up • • •

Mr. Miguel Kohly is a former businessman and civic leader from Cuba. Although Mr. Kohly had never participated in the past Cuban governments, he was active against the Communist takeover by Castro before and after 1959.

A master of eight languages, Mr. Kohly has lived in this country and received part of his education here. He has traveled extensively in North and South America and in Europe. He is known for his efforts on behalf of Inter-American relations.

An experienced debater and public speaker, Mr. Kohly has, since his exile from Cuba, spoken widely on radio and television and to civic groups and college forums.

Mr. Kohly will speak on *The Communist Take-Over in Cuba, The Cuban Invasion, Prospects for Inter-American Businessmen,* the *Alliance for Progress* and any other topic within his sphere of competence.

If your club or university would like to hear Mr. Kohly, won't you write?

You may also want to write for openings in the schedules of our other speakers: L. Brent Bozell, Ernest van den Haag, Willmoore Kendall, Russell Kirk, Frank S. Meyer, Thomas Molnar and William Rickenbacker.

CATHERINE BABCOCK, INC.

528 Southside Road

Virginia Beach, Virginia

Williams, Dave Tough, Buck Clayton, Buster Bailey. . . . But there were too many commercials, and not enough meat for the musical small potatoes the A & R men ordained as her repertory.

It took a long time, but some of her best and some of her worst have now been reissued in one three-record album by Columbia (C3L 22). It has been put together with loving care. The handsomely printed accompanying brochure has warm and affectionate pieces by Der Bingle, by Bucklin Moon, and by the editor, John Hammond, who arranged some of her best small-band dates. The "More Than You Know" is unexplainedly missing— and so is that forgotten little song, "There's a Boy in Harlem," which is among the best things she did with Red Norvo. Four great sides she cut with Berigan and Wilson are so badly dubbed that you can hear the hiss of the needle as it traverses the old shellac. And there is just too much of the mediocre material (included for commercial reasons to pad the album out to six LP sides). Four sides would have made a better memorial to Mildred Bailey.

Still, the really fine ones are there, too—the records that were worn out from too much playing, or that slid off the table and shattered. The sampling is broad, from the "Weekend of a Private Secretary" to "Heaven Help This Heart of Mine," from "Willow Tree" and "Honeysuckle Rose" to "Thanks for the Memory." But like Mildred Bailey's life, this eclectic collection doesn't quite make it. Again like her life, it is a vista of peaks and gullies. Perhaps this is as it should be. If you heard her in the old days, before hardening of the arteries and a bad heart chained her to the old rocking chair she sang about, then you will remember what it was like when the baby spot caught her. You will want to hear it again—the good and the bad. And that's precisely what you'll get in *Mildred Bailey: Her Greatest Performances.*

BOOKS IN BRIEF

My Life and Music, by Artur Schnabel: ed. and with introd. by Edward Crankshaw (St. Martin's, $4.50). The great pianist gave twelve lectures at Chicago in 1945. A British journalist has touched them up a bit for publication and added the choicest juice squeezed out of the Q-and-A sessions. For musicians this book holds much music; for people, much people. Schnabel, after all, was so: he would have loved the title, for he would not have spoken of his life and *work*: music is not work. He told his students to "go . . . and make music." His was a life-long rhapsody of tone, wound around a tonic he accepted, sung in melodies hung on a dominant he taught another generation to sing. Withal he gives the story of an artist; a sketch of Europe before and after Hitler; the frame of intellect from Liszt to Freud to Einstein; the mystery of composition and performance; the place of teaching in the work of creation; the place of music in life. The student will find enough of pianistic pedagogy, the humanist an evening's rumination on every page. W. F. RICKENBACKER

The Literature of Communism in America, *A Selected Reference Guide*, by Robert Finley Delaney (Catholic University of America Press, $6.50). An annotated bibliography to guide the neophyte student, the librarian or the teacher through the huge output of books on Communism. While by no means exhaustive, the well-arranged, carefully indexed and judiciously appraised 1700 entries form a basic reference tool. Stress is placed on material related to the United States, but significant works on the world Communist movement have been included. On controversial books, the author sends the reader to original sources and/or to other titles covering roughly the same ground. Perhaps the most valuable part of this bibliography is the section, "Official Anti-Communist Publications." Mr. Delaney has reduced the maze of tens of thousands of pages of hearings and reports of Congressional Committees, Federal agencies, State legislative committees, and commissions, to some 60 printed pages of well-arranged and digested summaries of these publications. A. KALISH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To the Editor

Re Liberal S. Allen

I thought Steve Allen's article [Feb. 26] was a perfectly wonderful example of Liberal thinking. You have done a great service by letting him talk for himself. Conservative journals should certainly give room for the opposition to state its case once in a while. Once in a while.

Cleveland, O. MRS. ANN-LOUISE BROWNE

He says he wrote it himself. I believe him.

Chicago, Ill. BLANCHE MILLER

Won't You Please Come Home?

You ask, plaintively, "Where's Soapy?"

Aye, where indeed? As Director of the Soapy Williams Tracking Station imagine my chagrin as all the King's Univacs and Mark VII's clicking away fail to turn him up. I do know that just when we had him tracked down on Tristan da Cunha, he popped up in New York to address a gathering of the UAW, a not disinterested entity you will agree.

So we blithely cast aside our precise tracking data and speculate on where the ubiquitous Soapy *is not*!

We know he is not having a meeting with Hendrick Verwoerd or Sir Roy Welensky. He is definitely not plotting a comeback with Moise Tshombe. He didn't show up at the funeral of Abd el Krim, and he is not cutting a tape at the *American Opinion* in Belmont, Mass.

You must remember that Soapy is ephemeral, ethereal; why just when you think he is irrigating the Sahara with Ben Bella, he is probably discussing civil rights with OSAGYEFO!

When you find him will you let us know?

Washington, D.C. DEPARTMENT OF STATE TRACKING STATION

He has been found in Leopoldville working up a lather against Portugal.

—ED.

Just War

I beg to differ with some of the statements made in Frank S. Meyer's article [Feb. 12]. Although appeals to "the teaching of Western civilization" can frequently be helpful in clarifying contemporary dilemmas, if no examination of actual history is made at the same time, disastrous results may ensue. It may be true that the concept of the "just war" provides certain guidelines which must be considered in the waging of war, but the concept of such wars can be illusory. Time and time again all sides have cried that their side was "just," that it was upholding the name of the same God that the other side professed to. What has been the result? It is, as Jacques Barzun has pointed out in his critique, *The House of Intellect*, that in areas where ideas figured most, violence, bloodshed and misery have been most frequent. Says Barzun, "Intellect is rigid and allows no oversight. The wars of ideas have always been the most fanatical and needlessly prolonged of all wars. It took Europe a hundred and fifty years to work the ideas of the Reformation out of its blood, by shedding it often and copiously in the name of abstract ideas—transubstantiation, preventient grace, or communion in both kinds."

And now Frank Meyer offers us the prospects of complete and total destruction. He almost seems to relish the ghastly statistics as much as the pacifists who constantly cry "fallout poisoning." I am as much disgusted as he is by the United States' apparent failure to convince the Communists that we will not allow them to expand unchecked. And I recognize that we must take risks, grave risks. A man will sacrifice his life, but at the same time, he believes that the effort will allow the continuation of his way of life. But can it make any sense to wish the total biological extermination of the human race in the name of a freedom and honor that could be passed on to nobody? I desire a victory of the West, but I can't understand how complete destruction of the world, Western civilization included, would be a gain.

Although you may be able to prove counter-force strategy morally superior than massive retaliation, are you willing to act on the results of such abstract thinking? The evidences of Communist aggression and subversion are numerous enough to awaken us to the need of destroying them. But turning such evidences into the abstract theory of the just war, while enticing, seems to be the most dangerous proposition one could hit on in the nuclear age. Mr. Meyer, it seems, has been forced, by his very logical reasoning into an absurd position.

Madison, Wis. KENNETH ALAN COLLINS

I was happy to see Mr. Meyer draw the distinction between the morality of a course of action directed toward destruction of Communism (in compliance with the principle of proportionality), and the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The two different situations are often considered as the same question.

Dallas, Tex. PUBLIUS

READER'S SERVICE

Please include your *National Review* wrapper address to insure prompt service whenever you write us about your subscription.

ATTACH WRAPPER ADDRESS HERE

MAIL TO:
National Review
Reader's Service
150 East 35th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

NAME (please print)

NEW ADDRESS

CITY ZONE STATE

Change of Address

If you are moving, please let us know five weeks in advance. Place your *Magazine* wrapper address here, and print your new address below. If you have a question about your subscription, place your *Magazine* wrapper address here, and enclose this form with your letter.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

classified advertisements

LITERARY

THE BOOKLOVER'S ANSWER, the bi-monthly for book collectors, features old books, rare books, private presses, little magazines, authors, etc. Introductory one-year subscription $2.00. Sample copy 40¢. The Booklover's Answer, Woodstock 19, New York.

LOCATE any book. Best prices. Aardvarks, Box 668-N, San Diego 12, California.

HIGHLY INFORMATIVE NEWSLETTER FREE. Published and edited by New York college political science students. Send stamped self-addressed envelope: Newsletter, 637 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N.Y.

BOOKS. We locate hard to find out-of-print books. If they're around, they can be found. No charge for searching. Edith Hall, 14 Roosevelt Street, Roseland, N.J.

THIS IS YOUR CONSTITUTION. Complete text explained and illustrated on Antique paper in color. 50¢ each. Box 3089, Waco, Texas.

REAL ESTATE

NEW YORK CITY CO-OP East 60's. Charming 8 room duplex, large rooms, high ceilings. Double height studio living room, library, formal dining room. 3 bedrooms, 2½ baths, modern kitchen, maids room. Many other attractive features. A home in Manhattan. For sale $68,000 or rent $750 a month. Phone LEhigh 5-0134 or write Box 343, NR.

FLORIDA LAKE LIVING—Silver Springs, Orlando area. $195.00 lots $5.00 month. Free colored photos. Bloch Brothers, Belleview 28, Florida.

OFFICE SPACE. Young organization wishes to sublet portion of its fourth floor suite at 150 East 35th St. Excellent building, self-service elevator. For further information call 914 DE 7-6846.

JOBS AND JOB HUNTERS

OUTSTANDING OPPORTUNITY for outstanding recent college graduate to age 30 with military obligations fulfilled to train 2-3 years for regional sales mgr. with one of U.S. largest corporations. Salary plus generous incentive compensation. Must have quick mind, desire to be at top, personable. Write full resume to Box 359, NR. All replies strictly confidential.

CORPORATION PILOT, 33, Airline Transport Rated. Qualified to meet your company's transportation needs. Presently employed. Box 338, NR.

COLLEGE GRADUATE (30) with 7 years successful financial and sales promotion experience seeks opportunity as administrative assistant to top management. Flair for writing. B.S. degree Business & Public Administration. Write Box 368, NR.

TELEPHONE SOLICITOR wanted—Queens. Evenings from Insurance office. Part-time/full time. Experienced. Phone for interview—John Griffin or John Freels, AX 7-6600.

AMERICAN CONSULTANT, with excellent European Management and Industrial Labor Relations experience, seeks challenging executive position in USA or Europe with American firm, active in International Business. Presently in Italy. Languages: English, French, Italian. Married. Resume upon request. Box 310, NR.

YOUNG COLLEGE GRADUATE with 5 years experience in marketing and research at the retail level desires position with regional or national concern. While working as Research and Marketing Mgr. for a large Eastern newspaper promoted most of our advertisers' products through direct mail, personal calls, TV, etc., Surveys include: products distribution, shelf facings, sales trends, etc. Will relocate. For resume write Box 316, NR.

YOUNG CONSERVATIVE, 29, diversified experience. Can assume responsibility, seeks opportunity with like-minded organization. Investigation, accounting, legal, government background. 1962 candidate for office. Salary $7500. Box 350, NR.

TIME ON MY HANDS (between diaper changes)—former secretary turned housewife, is available FOR TYPING only, especially manuscripts. Reasonable rates. Call HO 4-8161 (Queens).

MISCELLANEOUS

WANTED: Fine furniture to furnish unfurnished apartment. Especially interested in twin beds, lamps, end tables, coffee table. Reasonably priced. Write Box 341, NR, or call OR 9-7330, ext. 33.

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayer-plant experiments! Details, catalog FREE. Research Association, Box 24-NL, Olympia, Washington.

GOLDWATER AND TOWER ON RECORD—a 12" long-playing album recorded on-the-spot at the giant Madison Square Garden Rally held by YAF last March 7. Featuring major addresses by: Senators Barry Goldwater and John Tower and NR editor L. Brent Bozell. A permanent record of an unforgettable evening. Supply limited—so order your copies now! ONLY $3.50 each; bulk prices on request. Write to Box UA, 150 East 35th Street, New York 16, New York.

CREATIVE MINDS AVAILABLE. For art work, ad campaigns, direct mail, copy and production: Contact ULTRA ARTS, INC., 150 East 35th Street, New York 16, N.Y. (ORegon 9-7493).

INVESTMENTS

DO YOU INVEST? For prompt, courteous service and convenient midtown stock brokerage facilities, phone Leon Weil, Steiner Rouse & Company, MU 2-0300, Lexington and 41st St., New York City. Members New York Stock Exchange.

DOCTOR, ARE YOU INVESTING IN A NEW CLINIC? We have a complete service to offer or will work with your attorney and architect. Extremely competitive mortgage rates available. Clinic Consultants Company, Suite 920, 175 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

SPECIAL ATTENTION to your investments from Frank Caponegro, HA 2-3600. Associated with J. R. Williston & Beane, 2 Broadway, N.Y.C. Members New York Stock Exchange.

WOMEN ARE WISE INVESTORS! Looking for a practical investment plan? Call Anne C. Johnson, YU 6-6330. A. G. Edwards & Sons, 30 E. 42nd St., N.Y.C. Members of New York Stock Exchange.

LOS ANGELES INVESTORS! For personal, professional attention to your investments, call Jerry Belt, J. Barth & Co., 3323 Wilshire Blvd., DU 5-1585. Members New York Stock Exchange.

TRAVEL

EUROPE AND HAWAII—all summer long. Comprehensive programs at low cost designed by the Student Travel Overseas Program. Folders on request. S.T.O.P. TOURS, 2123 Addison St., Berkeley 4, California.

MOUNTAINEERING, SURVIVAL TRAINING, SUMMER SKIING, CAVE EXPLORING, boys 12-16, The Ashcrofters, two four-week sessions, separate girls session. Box 4. Aspen, Colorado or phone Mr. Farny, Morristown, N.J. JE 8-1042.

NOTHING TO OFFER but gracious living at the beautiful Alabama Hotel in Winter Park, Florida. Spacious tropical park making out-of-doors living a delight. 1,500 feet private frontage on Lake Maitland. Every opportunity to enjoy Central Florida and the unsurpassed winter climate to the fullest. Cultural, private club atmosphere. American Plan. $13 to $18. Inquire about special rates for year-round occupancy. Write Box AL, NR.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds or subscriptions. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. National Review's Classified space is limited to one page. Since the page is filled, the Classified Department will in general assign priorities to advertisers in order of their acceptance, while at the same time striving to give our readers a reasonably balanced page of available products and services. Rates per insertion: 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York 16, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

90 Mile Trip

Recently President Kennedy received, as an historic curiosity, a fifty-four year old document in which President Theodore Roosevelt prescribed a fifty-mile hike for all officers of the United States Marines as a test of physical fitness and vigor. The President, deciding this was more than just a curiosity, responded with a proposal that such a test be conducted at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina in the very near future.

How about presenting the President with an old copy of the Monroe Doctrine?

Syracuse, N.Y. SERGEI GEACINTOV

R. I. . . . P. (cont.)

I read with interest your article on Eleanor Roosevelt [Jan. 29].

I should like to quote from a very revealing posthumous autobiographical article by the lady, recently appearing in *McCall's*: "My mother-in-law and I argued, politely . . . to her, black was black, and white was white. She would sometimes ask me, 'Eleanor, why don't you tell the children what's right and what's wrong?'

"Then I would reply, 'Because I don't know myself.' This was true; quite young, I had learned that I couldn't tell the difference between what was right and what was wrong."

Most Liberals, I find, seem to be struggling with the same difficulty as Mrs. Roosevelt seemed to have had.

Douglaston, L.I. MRS. JANE DEBONO

Extremist Gremlins

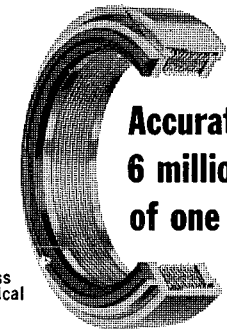
The gremlins had fun with my review of Mark Sherwin's *The Extremists* [Feb. 12]. The imps even went so far as to make me seem to include Gerald L. K. Smith and George Lincoln Rockwell among conservatives—in whose company they would in fact feel quite uncomfortable. The mangled sentences as originally submitted read: "The extremists, in case you wonder, range from Barry Goldwater, William Buckley and the American Security Council way out to Gerald L. K. Smith, George Lincoln Rockwell and —the only surprise starter—the Black Muslims. (One hears so little about Smith and Rockwell among conservatives; to the Left belongs the palm for keeping their message before the American people.)"

Pelham Manor, N.Y. NEIL MCCAFFREY

"You can count the great restaurants in America on the fingers of one hand."

VOISIN

Restaurant Voisin is one of them.
Open every day for luncheon, cocktails and dinner.
30 East 65th St. For reservations: Michel, LE 5-3800



Accurate to 6 millionths of one inch

Sealol 800 class Mechanical Seal

High performance components for aerospace, industrial and marine applications

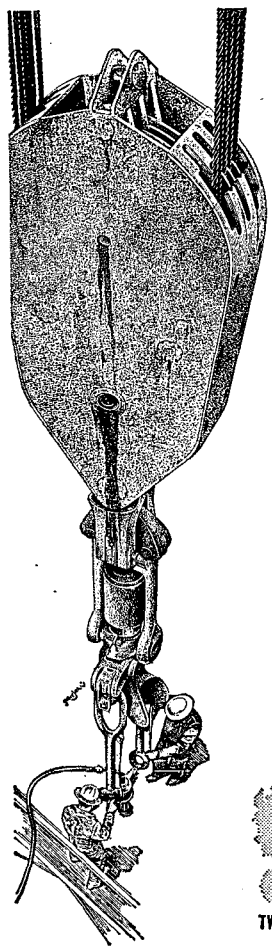
- **Mechanical Seals for Rotating Shafts** — carbon faces are held to .000006" flatness. Used by all rocket engine manufacturers, aboard nuclear subs, throughout industry.
- **Metal Bellows** — exclusive foil fusion technique permits fabrication of almost any metal including Inconel X. Used for instrumentation, fuel tanks, packless valves, etc.
- **Check Valves**
- **Rotary and Swivel Joints**
- **Gun Drilling Accessories**

SEALOL INC.

Providence 5, R. I.

New York • Philadelphia • Cleveland • Chicago
Houston • Denver • Los Angeles • San Francisco

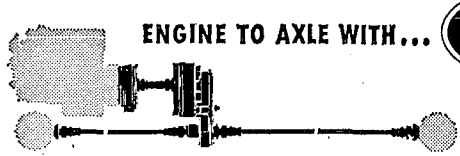
Overseas: Sealol Ltd., London
Sealol-Europe, s.a.r.l. Paris



Where you find OIL . . . you find TWIN DISC

Wherever man goes in his search for petroleum, Twin Disc power transmission equipment goes too. For more than 45 years, Twin Disc has supplied the oil industry with a complete line of clutches, fluid couplings, and torque converters for the express purpose of making drilling and oil-well servicing more efficient and more economical. Remember too, that the Engineering and Service departments at Twin Disc are ready to assist you in solving any of your oilfield drive problems.

ENGINE TO AXLE WITH... TWIN DISC POWER TRANSMISSION EQUIPMENT



TWIN DISC CLUTCH COMPANY, Racine Wisconsin, • HYDRAULIC DIVISION, Rockford, Illinois

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of Communist Russia* for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves . . ."

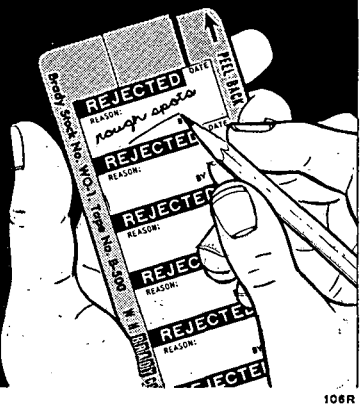
From Patrick Henry's 'Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death' speech to the Virginia convention, March 23, 1775.

*The underlined portion substituted. The original reads, **the British Ministry.**

LOW COST ID

Identification made on the spot

BRADY Write-On Self-Sticking LABELS



106R

Self-Sticking Write-On Labels for inspection, laboratory, maintenance, electrical and safety marking. Mounted on handy portable dispenser cards for on-the-spot use. Just add specific data to preprinted label form with pencil, pen, rubber stamp or typewriter. Over 100 stock items. Three label materials: Removable Vinyl Cloth, oil-proof Aluminum Foil, self-destroying Paper. Specials to order.

Write for bulletin 131 and free samples.

W. H. BRADY CO.

719 W. Glendale Avenue • Milwaukee 9, Wisconsin

Manufacturers of Quality Pressure-Sensitive Industrial Tape Products, Self-Bonding Nameplates, Automatic Machines for Dispensing Labels, Nameplates, Masks and Tape. Est. 1914

Racial Intelligence

Richard de Mille's letter [Feb. 12] begins with the strained inference that I suggested [Jan. 15] we could compare the innate mental capacities of different races by giving them intelligence tests.

The fact that my review had nothing to do with intelligence tests did not dissuade de Mille from writing his essay.

I shall not comment on the substance of the de Mille letter beyond this: His view that intelligence testing cannot shed light on the hereditary differences between races or, for that matter, other groups is scientifically incorrect. Comparatively culture-free samples of different populations can be obtained by such devices as Sims Score Cards. Tests, such as those developed by Stanley Porteus, minimize the impact of environmental difference. Nor is it necessary, given mathematical techniques related to those of partial correlation, to attempt the impossibility of creating totally culture-free conditions.

Delray Beach, Fla. NATHANIEL WEYL

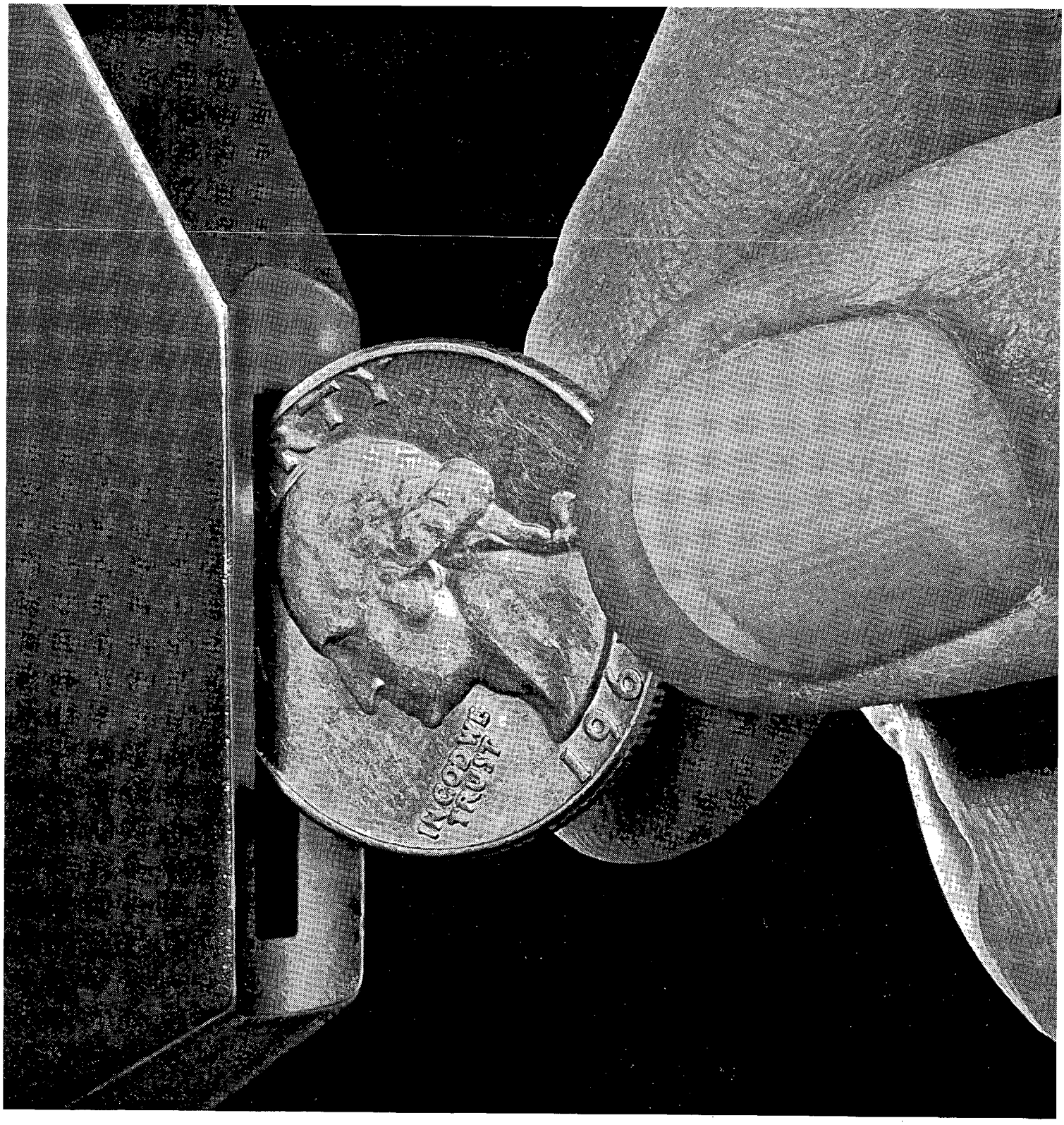
(Continued from p. 196)

Ambassador to the Court of St. James. It said that he had gone off for a skiing holiday at the moment of high crisis in the Common Market negotiations. The inference was clearly drawn that the Ambassador had absented himself from London at the height of the crisis to save himself the embarrassment of having to defend de Gaulle's veto on the British entry.

It was a shrewdly intelligent comment, damaged only by two pedantic little objections. First, it is not the Ambassador but his wife who is an enthusiastic skier. Secondly, the Ambassador had not gone anywhere for any kind of holiday. Rather he had gone into hospital for a hernia operation.

The popular press demanded the Vassall Inquiry, calling for ruthless exposure, whoever might be hurt. The popular press has got its Inquiry, which is turning out to be a ruthless exposure of itself. The Tribunal's findings, unfortunately, will be no help to poor Tom Galbraith, whose public and private reputations have been savaged by men who think in headlines, that is to say, if they ever think at all.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



If you could choose the slot where your tax money goes...

you would probably pick defense, or space exploration, or some other *vital* government job. It isn't likely that you'd pick a job for which there is no need for government to spend your tax money.

Yet some people keep urging the federal government to pour a lot of your tax money into federally owned electric power plants and lines, where 5½ billion dollars are already invested.

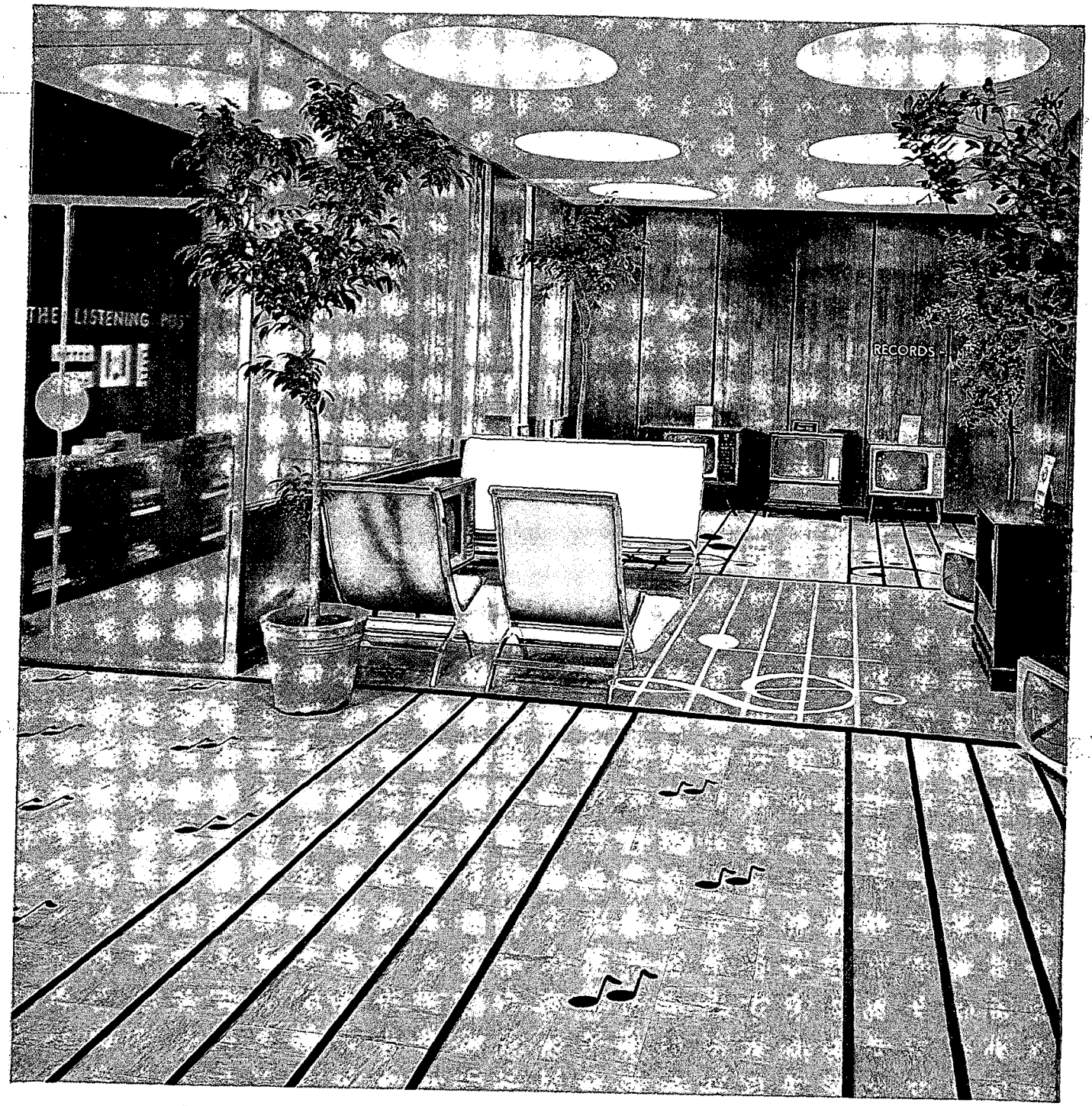
There's not the slightest need for this kind of spending. The nation's more than 300 investor-owned electric light and power companies can supply all the additional power a growing America will need.

Needless spending of your tax money would be senseless at any time, but it's downright dangerous today when so many billions are needed for essential jobs only the federal government can do.

Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies... *serving more than 140,000,000 people across the nation*

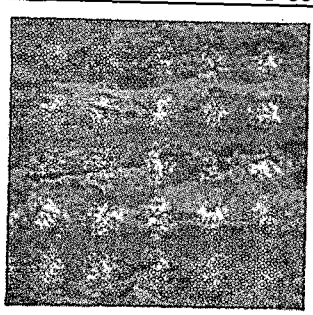
Sponsors' names on request through this magazine

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



DRAMATIC AND DURABLE! New Kentile® "Architectural Marbles" Vinyl Asbestos Tile, shown here in random shadings of Cologne Gray and Strasbourg Tan. Feature strips and custom inserts in White and Black.

Newest idea in heavy traffic flooring: Kentile "Architectural Marbles" Vinyl Asbestos Tile. Here's polished marble design that simply can't wear off because it's uniformly dispersed throughout the full thickness of every tile. Varied shades are subtly blended into each tile to create a pleasing random effect. It's greaseproof and easy to clean.



Your Kentile Dealer is in the Yellow Pages. Or, consult your architect, builder or interior designer.

VINYL KENTILE FLOORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED